The Changing Face of English Freemasonry, 1640-1740

Peter Kebbell

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Abstract

The record of Robert Moray's initiation into freemasonry in Newcastle in 1641 is the first record of freemasonry on English soil. A century later, freemasonry had spread throughout the whole of England, with several thousand initiates partaking in regular meetings in over one hundred lodges. The English form of freemasonry had also spread across the world, with lodges in America, Europe, and Asia, mostly governed by the English Grand Lodge which acted as a governing body for English freemasonry around the world. This thesis tracks the development of English freemasonry during the first century of its recorded existence, charting the changing elements of freemasonic organisation which led to the centralisation of freemasonry under the Grand Lodge system, along with the developments in ritual, and the mythology which underlined that ritual, throughout the period. In charting these developments, the thesis questions the assumptions which have informed the writing of freemasonic history for the past two centuries, and seeks to investigate both the origins and the accuracy of those assumptions. Previous freemasonic history has relied on the significance of the formation of the English Grand Lodge in 1717 and the influence of certain individuals (particularly John Theophilus Desaguliers) to demonstrate a dramatic change in freemasonry during the early 1720s. This thesis will argue that, far from a dramatic change, the developments which took place during the second decade of the eighteenth century were part of a longer trend of development, and can not be fully understood by focussing on the centralisation of freemasonry under the English Grand Lodge which is a symptom, rather than a cause, of the changing face of English freemasonry.

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Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: ..... DATE: 3 FEBRUARY 2010

Conventions

Footnotes

Footnotes will take a full form for the first incidence, and a shortened, but recognisable form thereafter.

Dating

Days and months are cited Old Style, as this was retained in England until 1752. In accordance with historical convention, years are taken to begin on 1 January and not 25 March (as was the case in England prior to 1752), dates being silently adjusted where necessary.

Quotations

Original spelling and grammar is retained for quotations unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations within quotations have been silently extended, except where their meaning is clear.

Glossary

Due to the large amount of specialised language used within freemasonry, a glossary of terms which may be unfamiliar to the reader is included as appendix 1. Terms not included in the glossary are explained in the main text as and when they first occur.

Nomenclature of Masonic Catechisms

During the in-depth discussion of masonic ritual, a number of documents are referred to. These are collectively known as masonic catechisms. There is some variety in the nomenclature commonly used for these documents, and as such I have endeavoured to provide clarity by including the nomenclature I have adopted, along with relevant notes concerning the documents, in appendix 3.

Bibliography

A bibliography sorted by surname of author is included. The subject matter of this thesis makes reference to a large number of anonymous sources inevitable: for these documents, the title name has been used for its position in the bibliography, rather than providing a long list under "Anon". The bibliography is split into four sections: primary works (including manuscripts); primary newspaper sources; secondary works; and on-line resources. Although it is usual to split manuscript and printed materials in a bibliography, this has not been done in this instance as a number of documents appear in both manuscript and printed form, thereby making such a split overly complicated.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Freemasonry has existed as a significant part of British culture since the early eighteenth century, and arguably since the middle of the seventeenth. It has been the club of choice of numerous individuals who have shaped British cultural history, such as Elias Ashmole, Robert Moray, and William Stukeley; it has counted amongst its membership numerous significant political and religious leaders, philosophers, and scientists; it is by far the most successful example of the club culture which appeared in early eighteenth-century Britain and which is one of the most visible signs of the culture which emerged from Enlightenment thought. To ignore its existence in social and cultural histories of Britain since the early eighteenth century ensures that a significant element of our understanding of that history is lacking.

The focus of this thesis is a thorough investigation of developments in English accepted freemasonry[1] during the century after the first record of its existence. As will be shown, during that century English freemasonry developed from occasional gatherings and a handful of initiates in the North of England, to an international organisation with a centralised governing body which had jurisdiction over several thousand practitioners meeting regularly in lodges not only covering the whole of England and Wales, but also Europe, Asia, and America. Alongside this development in the organisation of freemasonry, the mythology and ritual which were core to freemasonic practice were also undergoing significant change, and while the core elements of freemasonic ritual from 1640 were still recognisable in ritual a century later, much of the actual practice had changed significantly. This thesis will trace the development of accepted English freemasonry during this crucial first century of its existence.

Freemasonry has become something of a recent academic interest. Boosted initially by David Stevenson's work in the late 1980s on the Scottish origins of freemasonry,[2] a number of universities have, in the last few years, begun to offer units on freemasonic history in their degree programmes. In 1998, the Canonbury Masonic Research Centre was set up in London to encourage and support independent academic research of freemasonry and Western esotericism, and this was followed three years later by Sheffield University's Centre for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism. In addition to feeding into this current academic interest, there are a number of peripheral areas into which this thesis will feed. The study of modern Pagan religious practices, and the historical development of those practices, is a

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[1] See p3 for a definition of this and other terms.
[2] David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry* (Cambridge, 1988); *The First Freemasons* (Aberdeen, 1988).

rapidly developing field of interest. This field of research has been spearheaded by Ronald Hutton, who has shown the influence of English freemasonry on modern Pagan practices,[3] and this thesis will therefore give some background to the early phases of development of those ideas.

Alongside these more specific fields of academic interest, there are also other, more general elements to early eighteenth-century history, to which it is hoped this thesis will contribute including the nature of early eighteenth-century religion and culture; the development of views of the ancient world; and the changing paradigms which are generally referred to as Enlightenment thought. Any case study can only go so far in contributing to more general topics, and it would therefore be futile to pretend that this thesis will do any more than provide an additional element which will enhance our understanding of such subjects. It is certainly not intended to provide any over-arching structure to look at these topics, but it will provide a positive contribution to our understanding of them which may be drawn upon when these more general questions are tackled.

The historiography of freemasonry in general suffers considerably from the lack of a serious academic approach until relatively recently. Freemasonry has remained a consistent topic of interest to writers since the early eighteenth century, with barely a decade passing by since 1720 without a number of new works on the subject appearing in print. Those works which appeared before 1985 (and the majority since) have almost invariably been written by freemasons for a freemasonic audience, and there is still an expectation that those interested in freemasonic history must themselves be freemasons.[4] As such, I feel it necessary to follow David Stevenson's lead in announcing that I am not a freemason, and have no intention of becoming one.[5] However, as a significant element of cultural history since the early eighteenth century, freemasonry is a topic which deserves the attention of academic historians.

Considering the nature of the secondary material, a full historiography of all the various non-academic approaches would be unwieldy, and largely irrelevant. Rather than endeavouring to provide details of every major source, it therefore seems sensible to focus on the scholarly writers, including the main non-academics who have had a significant impact on the scholarly viewpoint.

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[3] Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of The Moon* (Oxford, 1999), pp52-61.
[4] See p3.
[5] Stevenson, *Origins*, p.xiii.

In this regard, perhaps the earliest significant work is that of Robert Gould, who wrote on the subject of freemasonry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Gould's most significant work was his *History of Freemasonry*, which was originally published in the mid 1880s in three volumes, and gave an account of the history of freemasonry up to that point.[6] Gould set a precedent for endeavouring to back up the view of freemasonic history with solid evidence, in contrast to the preceding works which, for the most part, were more the result of the author's imagination than any evidence-based assessment. Despite this, Gould's work suffered from a number of problems, particularly that he frequently failed to recognise any qualitative difference between the primary sources and those imaginative writers of the century preceding his publication. Alongside this is the fact that the primary source material was very limited at the time Gould writing, with a large amount of useful primary material having been rediscovered during the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Gould was followed by a number of prolific freemasonic writers, including William Hughan, who was actively writing from the early 1870s through to 1910;[7] Wilhelm Begemann, who produced a number of works during the early years of the twentieth century;[8] and A.E. Waite, whose work on freemasonry appeared during the first two decades of the twentieth century.[9] Waite focussed particularly on the mystical elements of freemasonry, and the perceived associations between freemasonry and Rosicrucianism, cabbalism, and alchemy. This is not surprising, considering Waite's extensive list of publications on subjects such as ceremonial magic, divination, etc., but it is somewhat at odds with the more sober approaches of Gould, Hughan, and Begemann. However, none of these works provides any significant argument concerning the development of English freemasonry, but rather sticks to a largely narrative approach to the subject.

While works on freemasonry continued to appear during the 1910s and 1920s, it would be the mid 1930s before any new writers of long-standing significance would appear, in the shape of Douglas Knoop and G.P. Jones. Influenced by the likes of Gould, Begemann, and Hughan, these two formed something of a unique partnership in the history of freemasonic research: Knoop was an active and enthusiastic freemason, while Jones was a non-freemason who simply shared Knoop's enthusiasm for freemasonic history. However, while the two were both academics, Knoop was an economist rather than an historian, and Jones was an

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[6] Robert Freke Gould, *The History of Freemasonry* (London, 1883-1887).
[7] Including, William James Hughan, *Origin of The English Rite of Freemasonry* (New York, 1884); *Masonic Sketches and Reprints* (New York, 1871).
[8] Of particular significance is Wilhelm Begemann, *Vorgeschichte und Anfäge der Freimaurerie in England* (Hamburg, 1909)
[9] In particular, Arthur Edward Waite, *The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry* (London, 1911); *New Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (London, 1921).

economic- rather than social-historian, and as such the methodology they applied to their researches in freemasonic history was not always appropriate to the subject. Furthermore, their approach was heavily influenced by Knoop's involvement with freemasonry, and particularly by the views of the United Grand Lodge of England. As a result, their works on freemasonic history provide a valuable resource, but their conclusions are often supported by scant evidence and assumption. Nonetheless, prior to the 1980s, Knoop and Jones provided the most thorough account of the first century of English freemasonic history through a number of short works which were mostly published in the freemasonic journal, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, or self-published; and a handful of longer works.[10] Despite the flaws in the work of Knoop and Jones, their efforts have proved invaluable to later historians researching freemasonry, particularly for their pursuit, and recovery of long forgotten masonic documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their transcriptions of a large number of those documents.[11]

The first academic historian to attempt to tackle the subject of freemasonic history was Margaret Jacob. Beginning her research into freemasonry during the 1960s, her first work to show a significant interest appeared in 1981.[12] Since then, she has written a number of works which have taken a look at European freemasonry during the Enlightenment, including *Living The Enlightenment* in 1991, and her most recent work, *The Origins of Freemasonry*.[13]

Unfortunately, Jacob's work suffers from a number of problems, not least of which is her rather fluid definition of freemasonry which, at times, and particularly in her earlier work, seems to have been used to include any society which involves secret signs of recognition.[14]

Jacob's latest work has been described by David Stevenson as "incoherent, at times self-contradictory and plain inaccurate", a description which he backs up with an in-depth review of the problems with the work,[15] and which seems a fair assessment. A further problem is Jacob's clear dislike of those involved with the area of her research. Unfortunately, during the early period of her freemasonic research, the United Grand Lodge of England operated a somewhat antiquated policy of allowing only men to make use of their resources, including

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[10] Particularly Douglas Knoop, and G.P. Jones, *A Short History of Freemasonry to 1730* (Manchester, 1940).
[11] Douglas Knoop, G.P. Jones, and Douglas Hamer (eds.), *Early Masonic Catechisms* (Manchester, 1943); and *Early Masonic Pamphlets* (Manchester, 1945).
[12] Margaret Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London, 1981).
[13] Margaret Jacob, *Living The Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1991); and *The Origins of Freemasonry* (London, 2006).
[14] For instance, Margaret Jacob, 'John Toland and the Newtonian Ideology', *Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1969), pp307-331.
[15] David Stevenson, 'review of *The Origins of Freemasonry*', <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/stevenson.html>, accessed on 21 April 2009.

their library and archives. While this was understandably frustrating to Jacob, it has continued to colour her view of the subject matter despite the fact that the restriction was dropped more than two decades ago. Her attitude is prevalent throughout her works on freemasonry, and is best exemplified in her response to Stevenson's review of her latest book which amounts to little more than an accusation of sexism which she perceives as being standard amongst those who research British freemasonry.[16] The result is that Jacob's work has tended to focus on a desire to prove female involvement in European freemasonry during the eighteenth century. Where she does step away from that focus, her work deals almost exclusively with continental European freemasonry, with the assumption that the information from that area can be automatically extrapolated to English and Scottish freemasonry.

The next genuine academic attempt at freemasonic history was that of David Stevenson in the late 1980s. Stevenson's research resulted in two books dealing with the subject, along with a number of journal articles.[17] Stevenson's work is exceptionally well researched, and presented with a good level of detail and accuracy. However, while Stevenson's research into freemasonry certainly set new standards for the subject, his work focuses on Scottish masonry before 1710, and therefore only touches on the period and geographical area with which this thesis is concerned. Nonetheless, his thorough and scholarly approach has provided not only a bench-mark standard for historical research into freemasonry, but also an invaluable springboard for the research which informs this thesis. While my own research focuses on an era which extends beyond Stevenson's, and on a different geographical area, this research would not be possible without the groundwork that Stevenson has put in to present a clear picture of the nature of Scottish freemasonry at the start of my own period of research.

Two further academic writers need to be mentioned. Firstly, Tobias Churton, who has written a number of works on the history of freemasonry, including his most recent: *Freemasonry, The Reality.*[18] While Churton does have training as an academic historian, and lectures on the subject of freemasonry at Exeter University, his publications on the subject seem to lack the academic rigour which would normally be expected of an individual in his position, and he frequently accepts and repeats errors made by early amateur historians of freemasonry such as Gould, and Hughan. As a result, Churton's work is heavily based on assumptions about the nature of early freemasonry, rather than on evidence.

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[16] Margaret Jacob, 'Author's response' < http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/jacobresp.html> accessed on 21 April 2009.
[17] Most significantly Stevenson, *Origins*; and *First Freemasons*.
[18] Tobias Churton, *Freemasonry, The Reality* (London, 2007).

The latest academic work to deal with the subject is David Harrison's recent doctoral thesis which deals with freemasonry during the long eighteenth century.[19] Due to the nature of the overlap between Harrison's thesis and my own research, more details of his work will be found throughout this thesis; however, for now it is sufficient to highlight that, while his work on freemasonic gravestones during the period is thoroughly researched and well presented, the rest of his thesis appears to suffer from a heavy influence from the views of Knoop and Jones, along with the inherent problems of their methodology. As a result, Harrison's work is replete with unsubstantiated conclusions, such as his statement that John Theophilus Desaguliers was responsible for writing the Master Mason degree, along with a number of clear factual errors, such as the claim that the Hiram Abiff of freemasonic mythology can be identified as the biblical King Hiram of Tyre.[20]

Despite the fact that a large number of works have been published on the history of freemasonry, very few contain the fruits of research conducted with the necessary academic standards to render them useful to further research. Although many of these do provide useful leads, and some factual information which proves to be of value, David Stevenson remains the lone voice when it comes to high-quality research into late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century freemasonry and, as already stated, the focus of his research is Scottish freemasonry before 1710. As such, the work in this thesis is intended to provide the next step in the history of freemasonry.

The primary material relating to freemasonry presents some difficulties. As an organisation which specifically intended to keep certain elements of its practice secret, and therefore involved a strong strand of oral transmission of information, freemasonry has left a variety of documents which tend to give an incomplete picture. The information not considered secret appeared in several published forms during the 1720s: in publications commissioned and approved by the Grand Lodges which governed freemasonry; in unofficial pocket companions and masonic diaries; and in critiques of freemasonry published by non-freemasons. In addition to this, there are a significant number of manuscript documents which would appear to have been written by individuals for their personal use, and which contain some of what may be assumed to be the material intended to remain secret. These are complemented by the appearance of published "exposures" of the supposedly secret material. The difficulties inherent in dealing with these various sources will be discussed in the main body of this thesis, but for now it is sufficient to note that, due to the nature of freemasonry as an organisation with secret elements and an oral tradition, the documentation left for posterity is far from

[19] David Harrison, *The Masonic Enlightenment* (Doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 2008).
[20] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p105.

comprehensive, and is therefore open to a wider range of interpretations than is perhaps common in other fields.

My methodological approach for this thesis has been heavily influenced by the nature of both the historiography, and the primary material available. The nature of the historiography has seen concepts, developed by the uncritical approach to primary material of nineteenth-century freemasonic amateur historians, along with elements of their imagination, inform the majority of more academic work of the past three decades. The only exception to this is found in the work of Stevenson. In order to reach a better understanding of early English freemasonry, it therefore seems necessary to adopt a deconstructionist epistemology. In dealing with the primary material, my approach has been largely qualitative in nature, which seems a necessity considering the difficult nature of interpreting the source material. This is complemented with a hint of comparative methodology, particularly in the chapter concerning freemasonic ritual, which requires comparison of a number of similar documents.

The subject of freemasonry has one further complication which needs to be addressed: that of specialist language. A number of terms have a specific usage within freemasonry, and therefore in the study of freemasonry. A glossary is therefore included at the end of this thesis defining terms which may be unfamiliar to those who have not researched freemasonry. There are, however, two specific sets of terms which require a little additional explanation, due to the varying nature of their use amongst researchers of the subject.

Firstly, the term "freemasonry" itself needs to be defined. For the purposes of this thesis, freemasonry, and its derivative terms, will be used specifically to refer to those gatherings and lodges which were associated with the initiatory tradition which led to the formation of the London Grand Lodge in 1717, along with the members of those gatherings and lodges. This will specifically include gatherings which took place prior to 1717 which were a part of this same initiatory tradition, albeit that the tradition may have undergone significant development prior to the formation of the Grand Lodge, as well as gatherings which took place after 1717 which were not affiliated with, but shared a common initiatory heritage with the Grand Lodge. However, it will specifically exclude any organisations which may have drawn significant elements of their practice from freemasonry, and may have had a significant cross-over in membership with freemasonry. Although such organisations may bear a distinct resemblance to freemasonry, due to their borrowing of freemasonic concepts, they are not a part of the initiatory tradition. Thus, organisations such as the Gormagons, The Noble Order of Bucks, and numerous other fraternal societies of the early eighteenth century which drew members and ideas from freemasonry are not covered by the term. Those organisations which share a

considerable amount with freemasonry, but are not directly connected to that initiatory tradition may be referred to as quasi-freemasonic.

The second set of terms are four commonly used within freemasonry to define those who practice stonemasonry as a trade, and those who are members of freemasonic lodges but do not practice stonemasonry. An operative mason is one actively involved in the specific craft of stonemasonry, while the terms "gentlemen freemasons", "speculative", and "accepted" refer to those who are not. In many respects the division is unhelpful, particularly when dealing with English freemasonry, as a member of the stonemasons trade can also become a member of a "speculative" or "accepted" freemasonic lodge, in which the fact that he is a qualified stonemason is as irrelevant as the occupation of any other member of that lodge. While it would be inadvisable to divorce modern, "speculative" freemasonry from its roots in Scottish "operative" masonry, this thesis will focus on the non-operative side of freemasonry, as it is this element of freemasonic organisation which became significantly more prevalent in England throughout the period. Therefore, the term "operative" will be used only when it is necessary to make a comparison between non-operative and operative lodges or individuals.

The other three terms also require some definition. "Speculative" is the term usually applied to non-operative freemasonry after the end of the eighteenth century. It is now common to refer to any non-operative freemason or Lodge as "speculative". Although the term "speculatif" does appear in the fifteenth-century Cooke MS, its use there is generally considered to be a reference to "theoretical" stonemasons (i.e. architects), as opposed to those who practiced the actual cutting and placing of stone.[21] It is not until the late eighteenth century that the term is used in connection to freemasons who have no associations with the building trade, and it is entirely absent in this context before this time. Its use in reference to freemasonry prior to 1740 is therefore somewhat anachronistic, the proper term being "accepted" or "free and accepted". As such, "speculative" will not be used in this thesis as a reference to non-operative freemasons. In addition, where the terms "freemason", "mason", and "Lodge" are used without any qualifying adjective, it will be intended as a shorthand for "free and accepted...". The term "gentleman mason" equally requires some definition. For the purposes of this thesis it will be used to refer only to those gentlemen who became honorary members of operative lodges, usually in recognition of their services to the lodge, or to the building trade in general.

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[21] Douglas Knoop, *On The Connection Between Operative and Speculative Masonry* (Sheffield, 1935), p49.

Stevenson accurately highlights the fact that there was a third sector of masons in the Scottish operative lodges of the seventeenth century: those who were neither operative stonemasons, nor gentleman, but rather other craftsmen. Since these individuals are neither strictly operative masons, nor gentlemen masons, it seems inappropriate to confuse them with either.[22] However, as this thesis is not intended to deal with operative freemasonry in any depth, but rather with the development of accepted freemasonry, the distinction between operative, non-operative craftsmen, and gentleman masons is not significant, since all members of accepted lodges are accepted masons regardless of their trade or social status.

[22] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p9.

Chapter 2: Background

Although the main focus of this thesis is the development of English accepted freemasonry 1640-1740, it is necessary to provide some basic background concerning the origins of freemasonry, and the nature of Scottish freemasonry both before and after 1640. As the relevant research has already been thoroughly conducted by David Stevenson, it would seem pointless to duplicate it. This chapter is therefore not intended to portray any original research, but rather to provide a background, based largely on Stevenson's work, which will act as a springboard to the original research presented in the rest of this thesis.[23]

The pre-history of freemasonry lies in the activities and beliefs of medieval stonemasons. Stonemasonry differed from other craft organisations in two important ways. The first of these is simply due to the nature of the craft, as one which invariably requires its practitioners to travel, often long distances, to wherever building projects are in progress in order to practice it. As such, the concept of a localised craft guild which operated under the auspices of a local authority, and maintained a monopoly for local craftsmen, which was common to other crafts, had no place in stonemasonry. Instead, stonemasons would belong to temporary organisations set up around specific building projects, which would last only as long as that project. Therefore, the idea of providing some form of recognition amongst stonemasons who had never previously met, along with the provision of a method for proving the individual's knowledge of the craft to the master of works, was a vital necessity. Thus, the practical requirement of secret signs of recognition, and the maintaining of a secret element to the tradition was paramount to prevent unqualified individuals producing sub-standard work on a building project.[24]

This simple fact is quite possibly the reason for the other main difference between stonemasons and other craft organisations. While many crafts developed their own mythical histories, the mythology developed around stonemasonry was unusually elaborate, and made grand claims for its antiquity which included ancient Egypt as its birthplace, and Euclid as its founder. These claims themselves show a very early acceptance that stonemasonry was not simply the manual practice of building, but also incorporated the theoretical elements of the trade, specifically architecture, and, by extension, practitioners of the science which underpinned architecture: geometry.[25]

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[23] Stevenson, *Origins*; and *First Freemasons*.
[24] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p1-2.
[25] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p1.

However, as Stevenson has highlighted, the medieval organisations of stonemasonry did not directly evolve into the early freemasonic lodges,[26] but rather created the mythology and concepts of secret signs of recognition which would become significant to those later organisations. The mythology in particular was recorded in various manuscripts known collectively as the Old Charges. The two earliest of these, the Cooke MS[27] and the poetic Regius MS,[28] date from the early fifteenth century, and record the mythical history of stonemasonry. It is not until the sixteenth century that a further six versions of the Old Charges appear, with another eleven in the first half of the seventeenth century. The mythical history they portray would later form that of the first operative freemasonic lodges, and thereby the later lodges of accepted freemasonry. The provenance of the majority of these Old Charges is English, and no example of a Scottish version exists prior to the 1650s, although it seems from the Schaw Statutes, which will be discussed shortly, that the contents of the Charges were known in Scotland by 1600.[29]

This should not come as a particular surprise: there is no reason to suppose that a craft which required the geographical mobility of its practitioners should be bound by national boundaries, and it seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that there was a commonality of ideas within the craft across both England and Scotland, even if regional variations may creep in. Indeed, as late as the early eighteenth century, two lodges in northern England, those of Alnwick and Swalwell, were, to all intents and purposes, operative lodges in the Scottish mould.[30]

Although the Old Charges would appear to suggest an English origin, at least for the mythical history of freemasonry, Stevenson has suggested that the origins of anything which could be recognised as modern freemasonry came about as the result of the re-organisation of Scottish stonemasonry by the King's master of works, William Schaw, which was detailed in what are known as The Schaw Statutes of 1598 and 1599. This re-organisation created a system of permanent lodges, meeting on a regular basis, governed by elected officials, under the supervision of a general warden (although the general warden ceased to claim any authority over Scottish masonry after the 1630s). This lodge system recognised two grades of mason: Apprentice and Fellow-Craft (i.e. fully qualified).[31]

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[26] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p2.
[27] London, British Library, Additional MS 23,198.
[28] *A Poem on the Constitutions of Masonry*, ed. James Halliwell (London, 1840).
[29] Stevenson, *Origins*, p22.
[30] F.F. Schmitger, and W. Davidson, 'The Alnwick manuscript, No. E10. Reproduction and Transcript', *Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia* (Newcastle, 1895).
[31] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, pp3-5.

After the 1630s, an increasing number of non-operative masons were initiated into the Scottish operative lodges. Although this was initially slow, there was a significant increase after 1670, to the point where some lodges were dominated by non-operative masons by the end of the century. On no occasion is any indication given for the motive of either the lodge or the individual, for the initiation of non-operatives,[32] but Stevenson presents a good argument at least as to why individuals may have sought initiation. The sixteenth century had seen two developments which had come out of Renaissance thought. The first of these was the enhanced status of architecture through an acknowledgement of the place of geometry as the core science which informed all others, and the acceptance that architects were the primary practitioners of that particular branch of science.[33] Such a status should not be a particular surprise: Renaissance thought invariably looked to the achievements of the ancient world in the hope of learning how to recreate the perceived wisdom of that world. By far the most visible aspect of that world was its dramatic architecture, whether that was the physical remains of Rome, Greece, and Egypt, or the buildings which remained at the core of the religious imagination, such as Solomon's Temple. Thus, the idea that those endeavouring to re-learn the skills needed to produce such buildings were in essence practicing an elite science, seems perfectly understandable.

However, before those seeking intellectual enlightenment could see a benefit in joining lodges of practicing stonemasons, a second development needed to occur. The early phases of the Renaissance had seen a distinct segregation of philosophy and practicality, with the intellectual elite seeing little value in consorting with those who took a practical approach to the world. This idea began to break down during the early seventeenth century, with natural philosophers beginning to develop their own experiments, rather than simply observe the natural world. This idea of philosophers acknowledging the value of practical knowledge rapidly caught on, and it became apparent that craftsmen often had the necessary knowledge to solve practical problems. Once that change had occurred, an intellectual with an interest in geometry, the pinnacle of scientific thought, would have undoubtedly viewed the lodges of operative stonemasons, with their practical knowledge, and their claims to a secret knowledge of architecture handed down from ancient Egypt and Euclid, to be an attractive place to seek advancement of their own knowledge. It therefore seems perfectly logical for those with an interest in geometry, architecture, or natural philosophy, to have sought initiation into the masonic lodges.[34]

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[32] Stevenson, *First Freemasons.*
[33] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p7.
[34] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p8.

Stevenson argues that the origins of freemasonry are undoubtedly Scottish, and can be found in the creation of the lodge system by William Schaw. However, the development of accepted freemasonry is a little more complex. Certainly during the last thirty years of the seventeenth century, a number of Scottish lodges had become dominated by non-operative masons. Nonetheless, the majority of Scottish masonry at the turn of the eighteenth century seems to have remained operative in nature. This is in stark contrast to the developments in English masonry which form the bulk of this thesis. As will be shown, from the earliest indications of the existence of English accepted freemasonry, the majority of initiates were not active stonemasons, but were either intellectuals or gentry. While there is good reason to suppose that the freemasonry which began to spread throughout England grew out of the initiations of English gentleman into Scottish operative lodges, the lodges in England very rapidly developed into something which was of a very different nature to the predominantly operative-based masonry which existed north of the border.

Chapter 3: Freemasonic organisation and club culture

The vast majority of attempts to look at the history of early eighteenth-century freemasonry endeavour to treat the subject either in complete isolation, or in the context of political and academic movements, such as the Enlightenment, best exemplified by David Harrison's recent doctoral thesis, *The Masonic Enlightenment.*[35] While the former method seems inherently flawed and frequently produces partial histories which seem to ignore large areas of influence which impacted the rise of freemasonry in the early eighteenth century, the latter approach does have much more validity. The isolation method tends to be observed by those writers who are themselves freemasons, and who write for an almost exclusive freemasonic audience, and therefore often lack the necessary desire to provide context which a more professional approach will give: the work of Knoop and Jones, while containing much good argument, and valid information, tends to fall into this isolationist trap, with little reference to events outside of freemasonry which impacted the society in which freemasonry developed.

The method of placing freemasonry in the context of either political changes, or of Enlightenment thought is a valuable one, but still has a tendency to ignore significant changes in the culture of London, and to a lesser extent, the rest of Britain. In particular, a study of freemasonry from the perspective of the growing club culture in London and Britain during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has not yet been attempted. Although Peter Clark's does include a chapter on freemasonry in his *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800,* his knowledge of freemasonry itself is not as in depth as is required for a full assessment: for instance, in demonstrating the election of nobility as officers in lodges, he uses the example of the Duke of Richmond becoming master of the Horn Tavern Lodge in 1724,[36] apparently unaware of the fact that the lodge in question was a lodge exclusively for nobles and gentry[37]. Similarly, he does not allow for the existence of independent lodges, outside the jurisdiction of the various Grand Lodges. As a result, his statistical analyses of freemasonry rely on incomplete data. In light of the fact that there is little concrete evidence concerning the independent lodges from the period, this is not necessarily a problem for the statistical analysis, but Clark seems unaware that potential data are missing.

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[35] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment.*
[36] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800* (Oxford, 2000), p328.
[37] While it is unclear whether the lodge deliberately excluded less aristocratic members is unclear, but the lists of members from the English Grand Lodge Minute Books reveal that in practice this was the case. cf London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, pp4 & 30.

While the impact of both Enlightenment thought, and of the political and religious changes will be considered, this chapter will endeavour to firstly put the growth of freemasonry into the perspective of the blossoming London club culture, and will then take a look at the actual developments within freemasonry itself, broken down approximately into four periods: the period prior to the formation of the London Grand Lodge;[38] the formative years of that the Grand Lodge; the period of growth following the election of the Duke of Montagu to the position of Grand Master; and the period of consolidation and dispute in the 1730s.

Club culture

Before looking at freemasonry itself, it seems sensible to take a look at the growing club culture of early eighteenth-century England. By far the most comprehensive study of the subject is Peter Clark's *British Clubs and Societies*,[39] which, despite the drawbacks in his chapter on freemasonry, is based on very thorough research of the more general scheme of clubs and societies around Britain. Clark's work builds on that done by John Timbs in the mid nineteenth century,[40] and Robert Allen in the 1930s,[41] but goes into considerably more depth than either of those authors, and thereby provides a good background into which freemasonry can be placed. A few other works exist which discuss club culture in the light of increasing urbanisation, such as Peter Borsay's *English Urban Renaissance*,[42] and Paul Langford's *A Polite and Commercial People*,[43] but these focus on the growth of towns, and tackle the growth of clubs and societies purely as a facet of urban growth, rather than as a central theme.

One particular problem in looking at clubs and societies in general is, at least in the pre-Grand Lodge years, of particular relevance to freemasonry: the problem of documentary evidence. Clark argues, quite reasonably, that this is due to the fact that a large number of clubs were either short-lived, run on an informal basis, or, more frequently, both.[44] This is equally true of freemasonry during the period before the mid 1720s. It is clear that at least some lodges did exist during this period: there are a number of handwritten manuscripts dating from this period which detail freemasonic rituals, and which were almost undoubtedly written by

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[38] Although in modern works, the London Grand Lodge is invariably referred to as The English Grand Lodge, this terminology is potentially confusing as there were two Grand Lodges claiming jurisdiction over England during the early eighteenth century. I have therefore opted for the less common terminology "London Grand Lodge", or simply "Grand Lodge" when referring to the London-based (English-) Grand Lodge throughout this chapter.
[39] Clark, *British Clubs*.
[40] John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London* (London, 1866, with updated editions in 1872 and 1908).
[41] Robert Allen, *The Clubs of Augustan London* (Cambridge Mass., 1933).
[42] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989).
[43] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989).
[44] Clark, *British Clubs*, p9.

brethren. In addition to this, despite the general lack of public interest in freemasonry, there are two mentions of freemasonry in printed works, the details of which will be discussed later, showing that there were at least some lodges in existence. Despite this, outside of Scotland, no direct documentary evidence of any individual accepted lodge, such as minute books, exists prior to the 1720s. Clark goes on to highlight the fact that the majority of evidence relating to clubs comes from those which were linked to the gentry and nobility. This is again reflected in the evidence concerning freemasonry, which becomes far more prominent within two years of the election of the first noble as the Grand Master of the London Grand Lodge in 1721.

Clark highlights the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as a significant point in the history of clubs and societies, showing how the limited appeal of clubs prior to the 1680s grew rapidly during the decades following the Revolution. He attributes this, at least in part, to the return of annual Parliaments, and the subsequent upsurge in highly visible political clubs, such as the Whig Kit-Cat Club, the Tory October Club, and even some Jacobite clubs. These were soon joined by a variety of clubs dedicated to the production of public entertainment, such as the Society of Gentlemen Lovers of Music, which from 1690 organised a number of grand annual concerts, along with a prestigious annual feast in London in celebration of St Cecilia's day which drew a large number of gentry and noblemen: their activities appear to have influenced a similar, although lower profile, feast in Oxford from 1696.[45]

Alongside the political clubs, and societies for public entertainment came those societies dedicated to the furthering of human knowledge. These, as with many other societies, usually started as informal gatherings of like-minded people in a tavern or coffee house, and then expanded into larger, higher profile organisations. One of the first was the Temple Coffee House Botanical Club, which was founded in 1689, and by 1691 counted the likes of Hans Sloane and Martin Lister amongst its members.[46] In 1707, the Society of Antiquaries was founded. Although its initial spate of activity was short-lived, it was revived in 1717 with Peter le Neve as President, and William Stukeley as secretary, a post which he held until he left London in 1726. Other founder members included Stukeley's friends John Talman, Samuel Gale, and Maurice Johnson.[47] The impetus after 1717 eventually resulted in the society becoming one of the foremost in the country, and one of the few which has survived into the early twenty first century.

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[45] Clark, *British Clubs*, pp62-63.
[46] Clark, *British Clubs*, p63.
[47] Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries, extract reproduced in Joan Evans, *A History of The Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford, 1956) pp51-52.

By the first years of the early eighteenth century, London was awash with societies including moral reform societies, religious societies, political clubs, music and visual arts societies, scientific clubs, drinking and dining clubs, philosophical societies, and even clubs dedicated to blasphemy. As the eighteenth century progressed, more clubs and societies appeared, while others disappeared as the fashionable trends ebbed and flowed. Meanwhile, outside London, clubs and societies began to flourish: Clark has highlighted how the spread of clubs outside London took place in the last years of the seventeenth century, and the first years of the eighteenth, with a large growth in the number of clubs both in provincial capitals and smaller towns. Freemasonry appears to have followed this trend, with an initial spate of Lodges recognised by the Grand Lodge coming from London; and then being followed in 1724 by the first lodge outside of the immediate vicinity of the city appearing in Richmond, Surrey. Later the same year this lodge was joined by others from Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, and Chester. By 1740, the London Grand Lodge had recognised lodges in no fewer than forty eight different towns across the country, ranging from larger towns such as Bristol and Birmingham, to small market towns such as Lynn Regis (King's Lynn), and Melcombe Regis.[48]

Although clubs and societies in general began to find popularity outside of London, freemasonry is one of only a handful of organisations which developed something approaching a unified organisation across the country, with a centralised governing body (the Grand Lodge). In most instances, the influence of societies in London may well have led to the formation of similar societies in other towns, but those societies would most frequently remain completely independent of one another, and it is this centralised, and largely united, outlook of freemasonry which marks it out as considerably different from those other societies.

While Clark presents a thorough investigation of the general scheme of clubs and societies, he does not tackle the question of why freemasonry proved to be particularly successful: and its success is somewhat unusual when compared to the majority of clubs. As already mentioned, the majority of clubs and societies enjoyed a limited lifespan, usually no more than a few years, during which they would enjoy a period of fashionable allure leading to an influx of new members, followed by a tailing off of support as other, more fashionable clubs drew their members away. Freemasonry, in contrast, seems to have avoided such a problem, and enjoyed a continued, if sporadic growth in membership throughout the eighteenth century. However,

[48] See appendix 2 (p3) for a full list of lodges recognised by Grand Lodge.

before tackling that particular question, it is necessary to go into some considerable detail concerning the development of freemasonry as an organisation.

Freemasonry's place in this club culture is undoubtedly one of significance. No other club or society proved to be as popular, or to grow as quickly as freemasonry during the early eighteenth century, and while some, such as the Society of Antiquaries, have managed to last to the present day, these are rare, and none have managed to maintain the consistently high levels of membership enjoyed by freemasonry despite (or perhaps because of) the almost constant suspicion in the popular media. Due to this success, freemasonry is not only a valid part of club culture, but demonstrates the elements necessary for success in the culture in which these clubs were forming and growing.

Freemasonry before 1716

The first sixteen years of the eighteenth century provide some difficulties for the historian of English freemasonry. Not least of these is a significant lack of useful material: there is no more than a handful of manuscripts which deal with freemasonry in England, and these tell us nothing of the size nor shape of the organisation, or much about those who were involved, but rather detail the ritual and symbolism employed in freemasonry. These are therefore of little use in this chapter, but will be looked at in depth in chapter five. Printed works present a similar problem: from this period, less than thirty works contain the term "free-mason", and virtually all of these use the term to refer to individuals whose craft is stone masonry, and not to any form of freemasonic organisation or lodge as we would understand the term today. For example, Sir James Astry's work, *A General Charge to all Grand Juries*, refers to the acceptable wages of a variety of crafts, including "Free-Masons", who receive four pence per day.[49] Only two works make reference to freemasonry in any other context. The first of these is from the anonymous *Royal Remarks; or the Indian King's observations on the most fashionable follies now reigning in the kingdom of Great Britain*, which claims that the etymological root of the word "craftsman... seems to have its Derivation, and most to be esteem'd, from the most ancient and celebrated Brotherhood of Arts and Sciences, The Free Masons".[50] In the same year, the first volume of *The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq* appeared in print. This work contains just one, very brief satirical comment on freemasonry, in which it claims that a group going by the name of "the Pretty Fellows... have their signs and tokens like Free Masons; They rail at women-kind; receive visits on their Beds in Gowns,

[49] Sir James Astry, *A General Charge to All Grand Juries* (London, 1703), p65.
[50] Anon, *Royal Remarks; or the Indian King's observations on the most fashionable follies now reigning in the kingdom of Great Britain* (London, 1710) p16.

and do a thousand other unintelligible Prettinesses that I cannot tell what to make of".[51] The third volume of the same work, published two years later, refers simply to Free Masons having "some secret Intimation of each other".[52] These three references are the only occurrences in printed material from the period 1700-1716 to freemasonry proper (as opposed to craftsmen practicing stonemasonry), and give little indication as to the nature of the organisation at the time.

In 1723, the first work officially sanctioned by the London Grand Lodge, James Anderson's *Constitutions* was published. In this work, Anderson claimed that freemasonry was in a state of decline during the early eighteenth century,[53] and the distinct lack of evidence concerning freemasonic lodges prior to 1717 would appear to support such a suggestion. However, it should be noted that Anderson's view of a decline was based on his argument that freemasonry had flourished in England during the seventeenth century, which seems inconsistent with the evidence available concerning seventeenth-century freemasonry, which will be discussed later. Nonetheless, we can be certain that there was little interest in the organisation amongst the early eighteenth-century popular media and, by extension, the literate public of the period. Despite this, it is clear that freemasonry continued to function to some extent: the manuscripts which detail freemasonic ritual appear to be written from the perspectives of those practicing the initiation rituals, and active participants in the craft. In addition, as will be discussed in detail in chapter five, they show that there was in progress some level of change in the way in which the initiatory degrees were being administered.

In addition, there is plenty of evidence for freemasonry in Scotland during this period: however, as Stevenson highlights in some considerable detail, these Scottish lodges are almost entirely operative in nature, with only the occasional non-operative gentleman being initiated in special circumstances. The two exceptions to this are two lodges in Kelso and Haughfoot: the former was founded by local gentry in 1701, but lasted only a few years; while the latter was founded by gentry in 1714, all of whom had disappeared within two years, leaving only operative stone masons.[54] As such, the evidence from Scotland shows that during the early eighteenth century, freemasonic lodges were primarily operative, and therefore considerably different (at least in make up of members) from the English lodges which appeared after 1717.

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[51] Richard Steele, *The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff* (London, 1710-1712), Vol I (1710), p186.
[52] Steele, *Lucubrations* (London, 1710-1712), Vol III (1712), p258.
[53] James Anderson, *The New Book of Constitutions of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (London, 1738), p108.
[54] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp199-207.

The only permanent English lodge for which any detailed evidence prior to the early 1720s exists is that of Alnwick, the minutes of which date from 1703, with by-laws existing from two years earlier. However, this lodge is clearly in the mould of the Scottish lodges, using the same Old Charges, the two degree system of entered apprentice and fellow craft master, two annually elected wardens, and a system of fines for breaching lodge regulations. In addition to this, Alnwick is quite clearly an operative lodge, both in membership and nature, with the regulations detailing fines for penalising breaches of operative rules being much more severe than for breaching those regulations which are not specifically relating to the work of a stone mason. Thus, the fine for "setting a rough layer to work in the lodge" (i.e. a non-qualified mason) being set at £3 13s, compared to that for failing to keep the secrets of the lodge at £1 6s 8d.[55] Considering the fact that Alnwick is only a few miles south of the Scottish border, it seems most likely that this lodge was, to all intents and purposes, a Scottish operative lodge which had simply crept over the border into England, and should not be considered a precursor of the form of freemasonry which appeared in London after 1717 any more than any other Scottish lodge. Although the lodge at Alnwick did eventually admit non operative masons and accept a constitution from the Grand Lodge of England, at no point prior to the late 1740s could it be considered as anything other than a Scottish operative lodge.

Despite this lack of detailed evidence concerning accepted lodges in England, there is some evidence that English lodges did meet. The earliest records of freemasonry in England date to the 1640s, and detail the initiations of Robert Moray, Alexander Hamilton and Elias Ashmole. Moray was initiated in Newcastle on 20 May 1641. However, his initiation was conducted by members of an Edinburgh lodge, who seem to have convened a lodge in Newcastle purely for the purpose of initiating Moray:[56] thus, while his initiation may be the first recorded on English soil, it does not record the existence of an English lodge. For the first known English lodge, it is necessary to look at Ashmole's initiation, which occurred on 16 October 1646 at Warrington in Lancashire, and which he recorded briefly in his diary.[57] The information provided by Ashmole includes no more than the time and date of his initiation, the fact that he was initiated with a Colonel Henry Manwaring, and the names of the seven members of the lodge who performed the initiation. It is those names which provide a clue as to the nature of the lodge: six of the seven are members of local gentry. Richard Ellam is the only member thought to be involved in the stone masons' trade, based on the fact that in his will of 1667 he is recorded as "freemason". During the seventeenth century, the term was almost invariably used in reference to the trade of the individual, not an affiliation to a freemasonic lodge, and it

[55] Schmitger and Davidson, 'The Alnwick manuscript'.
[56] Stevenson, *Origins*, p167.
[57] MS Ashm. 1136, f.19v, from Josten, *Elias Ashmole*, Vol I, pp395-396.

would seem particularly odd to recognise his affiliation with accepted freemasonry, as opposed to his trade, in his will. Ashmole was clearly initiated into a lodge of accepted, rather than operative masons, and the fact that one member was a practicing stonemason is almost irrelevant: there was no stipulation preventing operative masons from becoming members of accepted lodges, and Ellam's involvement in the activities of accepted freemasonry need bear no more relation to his trade than it would had he been a carpenter, tailor, or any other profession.[58]

However, there are still questions regarding the lodge which initiated Ashmole. Outside of Ashmole's diary there is no mention of the Warrington lodge, and Ashmole himself makes no further reference to it. Although many freemasons, and particularly the modern Grand Lodge at York, maintain that this lodge had already existed for some time before Ashmole's initiation,[59] this belief is based entirely on the argument of Herbert Poole, in his revised edition of Gould's *History of Freemasonry*. Poole himself was a freemason, writing entirely for a freemasonic audience, and seemed determined to prove that freemasonry was far more ancient than the available records show. Poole argues that Ashmole's description of the lodge members as being "those who were then of the lodge" implies that other members of the lodge were not present, and goes on to argue that the fact that one of the members is referred to as a warden "points with the utmost clearness to the fact, that an actual official of a subsisting branch of the Society of Freemasons was present".[60] Poole's argument can perhaps be best classified as wishful thinking. While his assertion that the lodge was of a permanent nature may be accurate, the evidence he cites is not as convincing as he makes out. Ashmole's statement regarding "those who were then of the lodge"; is much more likely to refer simply to those freemasons present who formed the lodge, and does not include the implicit suggestion of either other freemasons who were not present, or of the existence of a permanent lodge.

Similarly, the presence of a "warden" should not be of any surprise, since every freemasonic lodge, whether occasional or permanent, requires the presence of a master and a warden. It would seem more surprising that Ashmole makes no mention of which member is the Master

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[58] Greater detail concerning the details of the members of the Warrington Lodge can be found in Harrison, *Enlightenment*, pp20-23. Harrison's information is seemingly drawn in its entirety from W.H. Rylands, 'Freemasonry in seventeenth century Warrington', *The Masonic Magazine* (London, 1881).
[59] http://grandlodge.blogspot.com/2008/08/elias-ashmole-fact-fiction-and.html, accessed on 22 January 2009.
[60] Poole, *Gould's History*, p16. Although this statement is often attributed to Gould himself, the passage does not appear in Gould's original work (Gould, *History of Freemasonry*), and has been inserted by Poole in the revised edition.

of the lodge. However, it is quite possible that Ashmole does mention the Master: Colonel Henry Manwaring.

Ashmole's decision to join freemasonry may well have been a result of his growing interest in astrology, which seems to have begun in 1645, and which seems to have been the first step in his interest in alchemy, magic, and Rosicrucianism which was fully developed by the 1650s, and which became a life-long passion.[61] The question of a freemasonic connection with Rosicrucianism will be discussed in chapter four, but for now it is sufficient to note that an interest in secret societies, along with an interest in studying the natural world and seeking ancient knowledge, would certainly be sufficient motive to join a society such as freemasonry which, even as early as the 1640s was being associated with such concepts. If Ashmole's interests in such subjects did lead to a desire to become a freemason, then it would be necessary to find someone who was already a freemason to organise his initiation. Of the eight people named as being present at his initiation, only one, Henry Manwaring, is mentioned at any other time in Ashmole's writings: the remainder of the members of the lodge would appear to have been assembled purely for the purpose of the initiation. It therefore seems that Ashmole's statement that he was initiated "with Colonel Henry Manwaring" needs to be re-assessed.

In 1638, Ashmole had married Eleanor Manwaring, Henry's cousin once removed, and over the next few years he frequently referred to Henry in his diary as "my cousin Manwaring", travelling to London with him in 1643,[62] two years after Eleanor's death. Clearly the two remained friends for some time, with a number of references in Ashmole's diaries referring to Manwaring up to the mid 1650s.[63] Furthermore, on 20 October 1646, four days after Ashmole's initiation, Manwaring lent Ashmole £3 and agreed to buy him a horse,[64] clearly indicating a significant level of trust and friendship between the two men.

While it is possible that Manwaring sought initiation into freemasonry, and invited his cousin to do likewise at the same ceremony, this would seem an unusual scheme for freemasonry. There is no known precedent of an initiation of someone unknown to any current initiates, and as a significant element of initiation is the requirement to keep secrets, it would seem

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[61] Michael Hunter, 'Ashmole, Elias (1617–1692)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/764, accessed 2 March 2009]

[62] MS Ashm. 1136, f.11v, from C.H. Josten (ed), *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to His Life and Work* (Oxford, 1966), Vol I, p344.

[63] The final reference appears in 1653: MS Ashm. 374, f.189v, from Josten, *Elias Ashmole*, Vol I, p656.

[64] MS Ashm. 1136, f.215v, from Josten, *Elias Ashmole*, Vol I, p396.

particularly curious for freemasons to initiate someone in whom they did not have complete trust. A far more likely scenario is that Manwaring was already a freemason, that Ashmole had approached his cousin in order to be initiated into freemasonry, and Manwaring, as a known and trusted initiate, vouched for Ashmole, and organised a group of masonic friends in order to perform the ceremony.

Furthermore, although Ashmole's statement seems to imply that he was being initiated alongside Manwaring, this is based on a modern understanding of the word "with". The Oxford English Dictionary, however, highlights that, during the seventeenth century "with" was frequently used "after a passive verb or participle, indicating the principal agent", and can be considered equivalent to the modern usage of "by".[65] Considering Ashmole's already close friendship with Manwaring, along with his growing interest in astrology and Rosicrucianism, it seems quite possible that Manwaring was not a fellow initiate, as is usually assumed, but was in fact the master of the ceremony. This would then make perfect sense of Ashmole naming the Warden, without the requirement for a convoluted argument concerning a governing body for freemasonry for which no other evidence exists. It would seem most likely that Ashmole simply named the two officers of the lodge in order of seniority: the Master (Manwaring) being named first, followed by Penketh, the Warden.

It is impossible to conclude, based purely on Ashmole's evidence, whether the Warrington lodge was a long-standing endeavour, or whether it was a temporary lodge formed purely for the purpose of initiating Ashmole and Manwaring. Nonetheless, Stevenson's argument that the Warrington Lodge is more likely to be a temporary lodge seems far more convincing: Stevenson highlights the fact that the Warrington lodge is never mentioned outside of the single reference in Ashmole's diary, and comments on the fact that there is more external evidence relating to lodges in England than in Scotland, which suggests that English freemasons had fewer concerns over secrecy than their Scottish brethren. Stevenson therefore concludes that it would be reasonable to expect to find other references to the Warrington lodge had it been anything other than an occasional meeting.[66] While it might seem odd for an organisation to meet purely for the purpose of initiating new members, freemasonry in England during the seventeenth century should not be regarded as a club designed for regular social gatherings, but rather as a networking organisation, embracing an ideal that members would look after one another whenever necessary: such a view is certainly that given by

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[65] 'with, *prep*', Oxford English Dictionary online, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50286279, accessed on 6 March 2009.
[66] Stevenson, *Origins*, p220.

Robert Plot, whose comments from the latter part of the seventeenth century will be looked at later.

The temporary lodge of Edinburgh masons formed at Newcastle in 1641 to initiate Robert Moray may have been one of a number of similar initiations conducted by Scottish masons in Northern England during the 1630s and 1640s. It seems reasonable to accept the view that these occasional Scottish lodges would have inspired an interest in freemasonry among the gentry of Northern England, who gradually became freemasons themselves; that Ashmole's initiation is simply another in this schema, although by this time, sufficient English masons had been created to negate the necessity of Scottish masons; and thus Ashmole's initiation was conducted by English masons who had no affiliation to any particular lodge, with the lodge being formed, as was the general habit of Northern English freemasons, purely for an occasion, rather than a regular event. This argument is, of course, largely speculative, but seems to explain why there should be no other reference to the Warrington Lodge, and seems far more convincing that Gould's argument to the contrary.

Ashmole's diaries record just one other reference to freemasonry. In 1682 he records that he was summoned to appear at a lodge held at Mason's Hall in London on 11 March. He goes on to record the names of six men who were admitted to "the fellowship of Freemasons".[67] This entry is potentially confusing due to the mention of Mason's Hall, the home of the London Company of Accepted Masons. The use of terminology here is unhelpful due to multiple, and varying uses of the term "Accepted Masons", and therefore requires some explanation. The Company of Accepted Masons was a representative organisation for those whose craft was stonemasonry: an over-simplified comparison would be that of a modern Trade Union body, whose membership is open only to those individuals who practice the trade with which it is associated, and who provide certain privileges in return.

The exact nature of the connection between the London Company of Accepted Masons, and the developing freemasonry is currently the focal point of a debate. As discussed in chapter two, David Stevenson has argued strenuously for a Scottish origin for freemasonry, highlighting that the elements which were introduced into the organisations of stonemasons by William Schaw's restructuring formed the basis of what we now recognise as freemasonry. However, such a view is due to be challenged by Matthew Scanlan, who has been conducting research into the London Company of Accepted Masons, and believes that the roots of English accepted masonry can be traced to the activities of this group, rather than to the

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[67] A reproduction of the relevant page in Ashmole's diary is in Poole, *Gould's History*, Vol II, facing p19.

Scottish lodges.[68] The fruits of Scanlan's research have not yet been published, barring a short, preliminary article from 2001,[69] and it is therefore, at this stage, impossible to make a full assessment of their validity. However, while the idea certainly seems an interesting alternative to Stevenson's view, there are a number of obstacles to overcome.

Scanlan's view is that the 1682 meeting in Masons' Hall referred to by Ashmole was clearly a meeting of the London Company, as it took place in their hall. Scanlan also believes that Ashmole's statement that he had been a member of this organisation for thirty-five years suggests that his initiation in Warrington was actually an initiation into the "Acception" of the London Company (as they named their initiation). There are, however, a number of hurdles which will need to be overcome if this view is to be accepted.

Ashmole's diary entry uses the term "made a freemason". While the term "freemason" is, as highlighted by Stevenson, a purely English term,[70] it is one which is used most frequently, prior to 1720, to refer simply to operative, professional stonemasons, and not specifically to those who had taken the "acception" of the London Company. In fact, the term generally used for those members of the London company is "accepted" rather than "free", as is demonstrated by John Aubrey's record of Christopher Wren's initiation into the London Company: Aubrey had initially written that Wren was initiated into the fraternity of Free Masons. However, he then struck out the word "free", and replaced it with the word "accepted", demonstrating that there was a clear difference, at least in Aubrey's mind, between the two. Why, then, would Ashmole state that he was "made a freemason", rather than an "accepted mason"?

Although the 1720s saw the Grand Lodge adopt the term "free and accepted masons" for its members, there is no record of a similar term being used during the seventeenth century, and it would seem likely from Aubrey's correction that the two were considered to be separate terms during that earlier period. Unfortunately there is no evidence to suggest a reason why the freemasons of London began to combine the terms around 1720, but it would seem plausible that those freemasons, being aware of the roots of freemasonry in the building trade, observed the name of the London Company of Accepted Masons, and simply joined the terms together to recognise what they assumed were their roots. Furthermore, those operative stonemasons who were also freemasons in London would almost certainly have also been

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[68] I am grateful to Matthew Scanlan for sharing with me his ideas, which have not yet been published.
[69] Matthew Scanlan, 'New Light on Sir Christopher Wren', *Freemasonry Today*, (Autumn 2001) Issue 18.
[70] Stevenson, *Origins*, p8.

accepted into the London Company as a part of their professional life, and as such would already be considering themselves both free- and accepted- masons. Thus they were essentially members of two organisation which may have shared a common ancestry, but by the early eighteenth century were considered to be different.

There are other difficulties concerning the idea that Ashmole's initiation was an entry into the London Company. Why would he (or anyone) seek initiation to a London based organisation in the middle of Lancashire, particularly as he travelled to London just a few days later? Why would seven members of Lancashire and Cheshire gentry be members of that same London-based organisation for working stonemasons? Why would the one operative stonemason at Ashmole's initiation be a member of the London Company when he practiced his trade mostly around Cheshire and Lancashire? Until Scanlan publishes his work, and hopefully clarifies these difficulties, it is impossible to assess the validity of his suggestion. However, two other, more plausible possibilities as to the nature of the 1682 meeting exist.

Of the ten people named by Ashmole as performing the initiations, eight are known to have been operative stonemasons, and this has led some freemasons to conclude that the lodge convened on that day was of a Scottish operative nature.[71] However, such a conclusion is dubious. Ashmole, along with one other member, were not operative stonemasons, and it would seem odd for two accepted masons to be involved in the workings of an operative lodge: indeed, Stevenson has highlighted that in Scottish lodges, gentleman masons rarely attended lodges except for their own initiations, and even Moray, who was obsessed with freemasonry, attended a lodge on only two occasions.[72] Instead, it seems far more likely that the lodge itself was not in any way connected to the Scottish operative lodges, but was rather an English accepted lodge. The fact that a large number of members were active stonemasons does not make it an operative lodge in nature, any more than the presence of a large number of farmers in a lodge would make it a farm. However, the presence of a large number of stonemasons would explain why the lodge met at Mason's Hall: a hall to which those individuals would have had access as part of their professional involvement with the London Company of Accepted Masons. With the presence of two non-operative masons, at least one of whom (Ashmole) was summoned to attend, it would seem that the only reasonable conclusion to reach is that this was a meeting of an accepted lodge, not an operative one.

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[71] For example, Yasha Beresiner, 'Elias Ashmole: Masonic icon', *MQ Magazine* (London, October 2004). Also available on line at. http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/beresiner14.html.
[72] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*, p157.

The simple fact that Ashmole was summoned to this lodge less than twenty four hours before it was due to meet is a strong indicator that this was not a lodge which met on a regular basis. Those permanent lodges which met during the seventeenth century in Scotland and Northern England which have left records, all had regulations which included fines for non-attendance of regular lodge meetings. Therefore, had this lodge been one which met on a regular basis, it would be reasonable to assume that Ashmole would have been expected to attend as part of his duty as a member of the lodge, and would not need to be summoned. There are, therefore, only two possible conclusions: the first is that this was a lodge which met regularly, of which Ashmole was not a member, but for some reason he was required for that particular meeting. The second is that this lodge was convened purely for the purposes of initiating those members mentioned by Ashmole into accepted freemasonry. The former of those conclusions would require some special argument concerning Ashmole's summons, particularly as there were plenty of others present capable of performing the initiation ceremony. As such, Ashmole being summoned to attend a permanent lodge of which he was not a member would provide a unique instance in the history of freemasonry. The latter suggestion, that this was an occasional lodge, is also supported by the fact that there is no other reference to a meeting which holds any characteristics of an accepted freemasonic lodge taking place at Mason's Hall at any other time. It therefore seems unreasonable to reach any other conclusion: this meeting bears all the hallmarks of an occasional lodge of accepted masons (albeit that many of them worked as stonemasons), convened for the particular purpose of initiating new members.

This would fit in well with the theory put forward by Stevenson concerning the gradual spread of Scottish freemasonry through the north of England through the occasional appearance of such lodges, and would suggest that in the three decades after Ashmole's initiation, the practice had spread south through England, and had reached London. This theory would seem to be perfectly in keeping with Robert Plot's statement from 1686 in his *Natural History of Staffordshire*: "To these add the Customs relating to the County, whereof they have one, of admitting Men into the Society of Freemasons, that in the moorelands of this County seems to be of greater request, than any where else, though I find the Custom spread more or less, all over the Nation".[73] It is also worth noting that although Plot goes on to discuss in some detail the practice of freemasonry, and the initiation of new members, at no point does he suggest that there are any lodges which meet on a regular basis. In fact, he gives the contrary impression: "Into which Society when any are admitted, they call a meeting (or Lodg as they term it in some places) which must consist at lest of 5 or 6 of the Ancients of the

[73] Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (London, 1686), p316.

Order".[74] Plot clearly states that meetings are called for the purpose of initiating new members, which is in stark contrast to the initiation of new masons in Scotland, and after the 1720s in England, which took place almost exclusively at permanent lodges. Plot clearly states that meetings are called for particular purposes, and that those meetings are referred to as lodges.

Although Plot clearly dislikes freemasonry, there is no reason to doubt his statements concerning the purely practical aspects of initiations, and it seems that his statements give a good indication of the nature of accepted freemasonry in England toward the end of the seventeenth century. Considering the details provided by both Ashmole and Plot, it would seem that Stevenson's suggestion of sporadic, occasional lodges meeting for a specific purpose can be extended beyond the confines of the initiations which took place in the 1640s. Plot also provides a reason for these initiations into freemasonry, stating that they "chiefly consist in the communication of certain secret signes, whereby they are known to one another all over the Nation, by which means they have maintenance whither ever they travel".[75] Plot goes on to explain that freemasons have taken an oath to support one another, and that brethren were expected to help each other find work, or to support each other until work could be found. If Plot's statement is accurate, and, despite the anti-masonic tone of his statements, it seems reasonable to accept at least the core elements as such, then such an aim would certainly support the idea of lodges convened purely for initiation rather than meeting regularly: for Plot, the purpose of freemasonry is not to act as a social group, but rather for the practical purpose of providing mutual support for members. Such a purpose would seem unlikely to support the concept of lodges meeting on a regular basis, but would seem perfectly suited to the scheme of occasional lodges which seems to better fit the available evidence for the nature of seventeenth-century English lodges. It would seem likely that this system of meeting was still the predominant scheme of English freemasonry up to the end of the seventeenth century, and that as late as the 1680s lodges of accepted freemasons in England were not meeting regularly.

The picture usually painted of English freemasonry at the end of the seventeenth century is one of a number of lodges meeting at regular times and in regular places. As will be discussed shortly, there would seem to be good reason to believe that such a picture has developed as the result of projecting onto the seventeenth century impressions propagated during the 1720s by the newly developed Grand Lodge. However, based on the evidence of the seventeenth century, it seems that a different picture may be more appropriate: one in which freemasonry

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[74] Plot, *Natural History*, p316.
[75] Plot, *Natural History*, p316.

is seen as a number of individuals who meet sporadically for particular purposes such as initiating new members, rather than for the purpose of socialising.

The seventeenth century provides just a handful of other references to freemasonic gatherings in England: a pamphlet of 1676 makes brief reference to a meeting of "the Modern Green Ribboned Cabal, together with the ancient brotherhood of the Rosy Cross: the Hermetic Adepti and the company of Accepted Masons",[76] although the satirical nature of this pamphlet implies that this is an entirely fictional gathering. John Aubrey makes a brief mention of Christopher Wren being initiated into accepted masonry in the last decade of the seventeenth century, but, despite the fact that Harrison has accepted Aubrey's statement without question,[77] there is considerable doubt as to its accuracy. As pointed out by Stevenson, the word "freemasons" was crossed through by Aubrey and replaced with the term "accepted masons", suggesting that, far from being an early London accepted freemason, Wren was actually made an honourary member of the London Company of Accepted Masons, as would be quite likely considering his involvement in a number of grand architectural schemes in the city. Stevenson goes on to argue that Aubrey's statement has since been discredited anyway, and suggests that Aubrey had been the victim of a malicious informant.[78]

An evangelical pamphlet of 1698 contains a paragraph condemning freemasonry as "a devilish sect of men", and although this makes mention of a number of freemasonic meetings, those mentions are of a generic nature, and give no indication as to whether the writer considered them to be regular occurrences or occasional gatherings.[79]

In 1673, the writer and genealogist, Randall Holme III, listed twenty six members of a lodge at Chester. Knoop and Jones highlighted the fact that of those twenty six members, six were operative stonemasons, and fifteen others were connected to the building trade, thereby concluding that the lodge was operative in nature.[80] However, that leaves five members who had no connection at all to the building trade which would seem to suggest, as with Ashmole's London lodge of 1682, that Holme's lodge was in fact non-operative. However, despite the claims of Knoop and Jones,[81] repeated by David Stevenson,[82] that this was a permanent lodge, there is no indication in the document itself to suggest this. The document is

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[76] Quoted in Knoop, *Early Masonic Pamphlets*, p31.
[77] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p108.
[78] Stevenson, *Origins*, p223.
[79] M. Winter, *To All Godly People* (London, 1698). (Only one copy of this pamphlet is known to exist, held by the Library and Museum of Freemasonry in London)
[80] Knoop and Jones, *Short History*, pp68-69.
[81] Knoop and Jones, *Short History*, pp68-69.
[82] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp224-225.

simply a list of twenty six names, with a column headed "wt each give to be a free mason".[83] The only other information connected with the document is the wording of an oath, presumably to be taken by new initiates, to not share the secret words and signs with non-masons. However, this oath has become associated with Holme's list purely through chance: it appears as folio 33 of the Harleian MS 2054 in the British Library, one folio before Holme's list, and was subsequently printed by Hughan as though it were the same document. In fact, it is a completely different document, written in a different hand, and there is no reason to suspect that it is associated with Holme's list.[84] At no point does Holme's document make mention of a lodge, either explicitly or implicitly.

While it is possible that these twenty six individuals formed a permanent lodge, it seems equally possible that the list is simply one that was kept by an individual recording those people initiated at occasional gatherings, or, possibly at a single occasional gathering. The simple fact that money appears to have changed hands could be seen to imply a permanent lodge which kept its own accounts, but it could equally imply a more organised group meeting occasionally for the purpose of initiation. Furthermore, although twenty six initiates at one time seems a large number, a letter from the Grand Lodge at York to William Preston in 1778 refers to "an Instance of [a lodge] being holden once (in 1713) out of York Viz., at Bradford in Yorkshire when 18 Gentlemen of the first families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons".[85] Although there may be some doubt with regards to the authenticity of the Bradford meeting (the only record of its existence comes from some fifty five years after the event), the fact that the Grand Lodge of York found acceptable the suggestion that eighteen new freemasons were initiated at one time in an occasional lodge as late as 1713 would suggest that there is nothing untoward with the idea of a large number of new brethren being made on a single occasion. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the individuals named in Holme's document met in a freemasonic lodge either on a regular basis, or at any time other than when they were initiating new candidates.

There are also a small number of documents detailing freemasonic ceremonies and constitutions or regulations of freemasonry.[86] While these give an indication of the practices of freemasonry during the seventeenth century, they give no indication as to whether they

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[83] London, British Library, Harleian MS. 2054, f.34; reprinted in Hughan, *Masonic Sketches*, p194. My thanks to Andy Durr for providing me with a copy of this reprint.
[84] My thanks to Matthew Scanlan for pointing out this error of attribution.
[85] Quoted in Poole, *Gould's History*, p129.
[86] Four documents relating to Freemasonry in York are now held by the York Lodge no. 236, one of which is dated to 1693, the other three simply to the seventeenth century.

belonged to specific lodges meeting on a regular basis, or whether they were produced purely for one off, occasional gatherings.

At the start of the eighteenth century, accepted freemasonry in England would appear to be characterised largely by the sporadic appearance of occasional lodges, convened purely for a specific, one off, purpose such as initiating one or more new members. Freemasonic writers have tended to project onto seventeenth-century English freemasonry concepts which appear to have developed during the eighteenth, and the picture they paint of a series of permanent lodges meeting regularly seems to be largely inaccurate. No reference to a freemasonic meeting in England during the seventeenth century gives an indication of a permanent lodge, and most imply that the lodges to which they refer were of an occasional nature.

The first sixteen years of the eighteenth century provide little more evidence of the nature of freemasonic lodges. A manuscript tentatively dated 1704 is held by York lodge no. 236, but as with the other manuscripts held by the lodge, it gives no indication of the nature of the lodge structure. A manuscript in the possession of the Grand Lodge of Canada gives some brief detail concerning a lodge which met at Scarborough on 10 July 1705 for the purpose of initiating six new members.[87] This bears all the hallmarks of an occasional lodge: a number of initiations taking place at the same meeting, and no reference to a lodge at Scarborough at any other time.

Prior to 1716, the majority of information available regarding English freemasonry comes from Yorkshire. According to several parchment rolls which are now held by the York Lodge, a lodge met in York on 19 March 1712 for the purpose of initiating several new members. These rolls also record an annual gathering of freemasons in York on St John's Day between the years 1713 and 1725, and list the Grand Masters of this York Grand Lodge. However, there is some doubt as to the legitimacy of these records in substantiating the existence of a Grand Lodge: they date from 1730, at a time when the York Grand Lodge was endeavouring to claim a greater seniority than the Grand Lodge of London. The York Grand Lodge, which went under the name of "The Grand Lodge of All England at York", was in existence by 1725, but outside of these rolls there is no evidence of the existence of a Grand Lodge at York prior to that date: in fact, these documents seem to refer to the activities of a single lodge meeting mostly at York, which later adopted the title of Grand Lodge. It therefore seems most likely that these documents produced a plausible history for the Grand Lodge of York which would pre-date that of London, but the use of the term "Grand Lodge", rather than simply "lodge",

[87] Hamilton, Ontario, Grand Lodge of Canada, 'Scarborough MS', 1705. My thanks to the Grand Lodge of Canada for confirming the details of the document.

may be based more on a desire to prove precedence, rather than the actual existence of such a body.

However, it is clear that York acted as something of a centre for freemasonic activity during the second and third decades of the eighteenth century. The 1730 rolls, while almost certainly projecting the name "Grand Lodge" onto activity which pre-dated such an organisation, do provide a long list of freemasonic meetings, and there seems little reason to doubt the authenticity of those particular details. These documents detail six meetings between 1712 and 1716. All of those meetings are referred to as "private lodges", and met at the private residence of James Boreham, a Yorkshire freemason. Each meeting seems to have been convened for the purpose of initiating new brethren, and in total they give the names of fourteen new initiates. The rolls begin again in 1721, and prior to the end of 1725, provide details of over twenty meetings held at a variety of private residences. Again, these are referred to as "private lodges", and again they seem to have convened with the sole purpose of initiating new members.[88] It would appear that Yorkshire was still the home to frequent occasional lodges, meeting for the sole purpose of initiations, as late as the mid 1720s.

The picture of freemasonry in England prior to 1717 is therefore somewhat patchy. It seems that from the 1640s, when Robert Moray and Elias Ashmole were initiated, accepted freemasonry in England consisted entirely of individuals, usually gentlemen, who joined freemasonry and then met infrequently, usually with the specific intention of initiating new brethren. This seems to have continued to be the general scheme of freemasonry in England right through to the end of the seventeenth century, and continued to be the case into the early years of the eighteenth, with evidence of a number of occasional lodges, such as those at Scarborough in 1705, York in 1712, and Bradford in 1713, but a distinct lack of evidence of any permanent lodges.

This picture has generally been confused by freemasonic writers, who have tended to project onto seventeenth and early eighteenth-century freemasonry evidence from the later eighteenth century, and an assumption that freemasonic lodges flourished during the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the evidence available does not support such a view. Although the London Grand Lodge claims that its founding four lodges were already old in 1717, the evidence of their age comes from a later date: the date of 1691 given for the founding of the Goose and Gridiron Lodge does not appear before an engraved list of lodges published in 1729, as does the date of 1712 for the founding of the lodge which met at the Crown. The lodge which met

[88] The rolls have been transcribed in: Hughan, *Masonic Sketches*.

at the Rummer and Grapes is simply referred to as having been in existence since "time immemorial", without even an attempt to give it a date of origin, while the Apple Tree Tavern lodge, due to reasons which will be looked at later in this chapter, is dated at 1723 in the official engraved lists, and an actual date of formation is not given.[89] It does seem likely that these four lodges were meeting regularly prior to the original meeting in 1716 which led to the founding of the London Grand Lodge, but, with none of the lodges leaving any minutes prior to the 1740s, the dates of their first regular meetings remain an unknown quantity.

With no reliable evidence concerning the age of these lodges, it is possible only to make an educated guess at the process by which English freemasonry developed from being a society of predominantly occasional gatherings, to one of permanent lodges with regular meetings. However, there would seem to be good reason to suspect that freemasonry became caught up in the general changes which were occurring in London during the early eighteenth century, and the natural process by which the populace of London were becoming ever more interested in joining together in societies and clubs, as discussed at the start of this chapter. Far from being an unusual case, freemasonry, at least during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, seems to have fitted in with the general trends of club culture very well, and it would seem most likely that in the ever growing desire for clubs and societies for men to meet others with similar interests, freemasonry began to develop regular meetings sometime during the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century.

One other element of pre-Grand Lodge freemasonry needs to be considered. As has already been discussed, operative stonemasonry, by its very nature, requires a great deal of geographical movement amongst its practitioners. While the Schaw Statutes provided for the reorganisation of Scottish stonemasonry, thereby giving it a centralised element of organisation which distinguished it from its English cousin, this development may be of less significance than has generally been accepted. There is no reason to suppose that the English-Scottish border prevented the movement of working stonemasons between the two countries. Those masons living and working in Scotland would find themselves incorporated into the Schaw lodges, while those in England would find themselves incorporated into whatever local system existed for the organisation of their trade, regardless of the country of their origin.

Copies of the Old Charges, near enough identical to each other, appear in both England and Scotland. Stevenson has highlighted that, although it is the late seventeenth century before any Old Charges appear in Scotland, the core of their contents including the mythical history

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[89] Grand Lodge of England, *A List of Regular Lodges According to their Seniority & Constitution* (London, 1730). These official lists are frequently referred to as the Engraved Lists.

of masonry are apparent in the Schaw Statutes, and thereby concludes that the Charges were known, and recognised by masons in both countries by the end of the sixteenth century.[90] Thus, the core beliefs of stonemasons in England and Scotland were very similar to one another at the end of the sixteenth century. Barring the organisational aspects of Scottish masonic lodges, the masonry of England and Scotland at this point would seem to be ultimately of the same species.

Therefore, in order for there to be any significant difference in the development of masonic concepts after this point, it would be necessary to demonstrate that communication of ideas between Scottish and English masons ceased. Such a demonstration would require some very specific difficulties to be overcome. Firstly, there is no reason to suppose that the movement of stonemasons between England and Scotland ceased: such would seem particularly odd, since the ability to earn a living as a stonemason requires the ability and willingness to move to wherever building work is available. Therefore, if the mobility of stonemasons did not change, the only cause of speciation between Scottish and English freemasonry would be the result of deliberate attempts by one or the other to create new developments in the mythical history and rituals of initiation, and then to maintain the secrecy of those developments as the preserve of members of their own nationality.

Furthermore, there is evidence from as late as the early eighteenth century that developments in Scottish and English freemasonry did transfer across the border. The various masonic catechisms, which will be discussed in detail in chapter five[91] and are detailed in appendix three[92], have varying provenances across England, Scotland, and Ireland, and show a significant level of similarity in detail, albeit that there is a pattern of development over time, and a few minor regional differences. There is, therefore, an inherent flaw in endeavouring to treat Scottish and English masonry as two separate entities. Similarly, endeavouring to seek an origin of English accepted freemasonry which is dominated by either the Scottish or the English developments to the exclusion of the other, is problematic.

It therefore seems that the process by which freemasonry was transferred from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century operative lodges to the accepted lodges of 1720s London requires a reassessment. Around the 1630s and 1640s, a number of gentlemen became initiated as honorary masons into operative lodges. The evidence we have is that these occurred mostly in Scotland and the north of England, particularly around Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.

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[90] Stevenson, *Origins*, p22.
[91] See chapter five (p3).
[92] See appendix three (p3).

At some point during the early 1640s a critical mass of English gentlemen masons occurred in Northern England, and they began meeting in occasional lodges to initiate others, thereby creating the birth of accepted freemasonry in the north of England. The nature of these early accepted lodges was probably influenced by both English and Scottish practice: as already highlighted, gentleman masons in Scotland rarely attended a lodge except for their initiation; while English stonemasonry did not operate a system of permanent lodges, which had, in Scotland, been the result of the direct intervention of the King's master of works, William Schaw. Over the next few decades these initiations into occasional lodges spread south throughout England, until, by the 1680s, it was not unreasonable for Robert Plot to observe that freemasonry was spread throughout the nation. By the early eighteenth century, the developments in London society which led to a rapid increase in clubs and societies encouraged the freemasons living in London to begin to meet regularly and form permanent lodges, and thus accepted freemasonry moved from being an occasional pursuit, to a regular one. Only once this change had occurred, was the scene set for London freemasonry to consider the possibility of a Grand Lodge.

The early Grand Lodge years: 1716-1723

The history of the formative years of the London Grand Lodge has been a subject of much discussion amongst freemasons writing for a freemasonic audience. The academic world has, however, produced virtually nothing on the subject, which is particularly surprising as the formation of the Grand Lodge is generally considered to be the most significant moment in the history of English freemasonry. Where academics have tackled this subject, the story presented by those non-academic freemasons tends to be accepted uncritically, and there has been no serious attempt to analyse the events concerned. As a prime example, Harrison, whose doctoral thesis is focussed on "Transition and Change" within English freemasonry during the eighteenth century, refers to the first meeting of the body that became the London Grand Lodge somewhat glibly as "a groundbreaking meeting", but makes no attempt to look beyond the official version of events as presented by the United Grand Lodge of England (the body formed in 1813 by the union of the two Grand Lodges then based in London, including the one formed in the early eighteenth century).[93]

The history of the founding of the London Grand Lodge is somewhat complicated by the nature of the source material. There are only three sources which make reference to early Grand Lodge meetings which were written by those contemporary with events. Most obvious

[93] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p163.

is the official history of the formation of the London Grand Lodge which forms part of the overall history of freemasonry presented in Anderson's second edition of the *Constitutions of Freemasonry.*[94] Alongside this are the early minutes of the London Grand Lodge;[95] and a few sparse comments made by William Stukeley in his diary and common-place book.[96] However, each of these has its problems, which need to be looked at in some detail.

The Grand Lodge minutes are, to a large extent, unhelpful with regard to the crucial formative years: the minutes do not begin until the meeting of the Grand Lodge held on 24 June 1723. The opening page of the minute book states that it was begun on 25 November 1723, which suggests that either the June minutes were written from memory, or that there were some notes kept of meetings prior to November 1723. However, even if the latter is the case, none of those notes now exist, and it seems most likely that no minutes were kept prior to the appointment of William Cowper as the first secretary of the Grand Lodge in June 1723. Thus the earliest direct record we have of Grand Lodge meetings comes from six years after its creation. The back of the minute book does contain a small amount of information concerning the Grand Lodge before 1723: a list of officers from its formation in 1717 up to the end of the minute book in 1731. Although the first six years are written in the same hand, there seems no reason to doubt the validity of the information contained. Even if notes of the names of the officers had not been kept, it would not seem difficult for such a small amount of information to be retained by memory.

The references made by William Stukeley are considerably more useful than the Grand Lodge minutes, despite the fact that they constitute far less material, and it seems reasonable to accept them as a valid record of events from Stukeley's perspective.[97] There are, however, two difficulties with Stukeley's comments. Firstly, Stukeley was not made a freemason until 1721, four years after the formation of the Grand Lodge, before which he makes no comments regarding freemasonry. Secondly, Stukeley's comments occasionally conflict with those made by Anderson. The details of these conflicts will be entered into later in this chapter, but for now it is sufficient to state that, for the most part, there is no easy resolution to those conflicting sources, forcing the historian to accept one version of events over the other.

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[94] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738).
[95] London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731.
[96] William Stukeley, *The Family Memoirs of the Rev William Stukeley, MD*, (The Surtees Society, Durham, London & Edinburgh, 1880, 1884, 1887), 3 volumes.
[97] Stukeley made a number of references to freemasonry in his diary, common-place book, and autobiography. Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, pp62, 64, 66, 68, 72, 122 & 123.

The problems with Anderson's *Constitutions* are a little more complex. This is the only source detailing the first four years of the London Grand Lodge written by those contemporary with those events. As such, every history of the formation of the Grand Lodge has been based almost entirely on an unquestioning acceptance of Anderson's story, although, at least within freemasonic circles, some have taken the time to question the accuracy of Anderson's account, even though their arguments have often proved to be underdeveloped.[98] In addition to this, the story of the formation of the Grand Lodge does not appear until the second version, published in 1738, over two decades after the events described. Nonetheless, Anderson's history remains the sole account written by those contemporary to events. However, this fact leads on to the second, more significant problem regarding Anderson's account: the question of whether anybody involved with the writing of the account was actually present at the events it describes. Sadly there is no record of any individual who was present at the meetings which led to the formation of the Grand Lodge, and although David Harrison claims that a list of attendees appears in Laurence Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon*, no eighteenth-century version of Dermott's work contains such a list: if a list appears in later versions, it was added a clear century after the events, and can not be taken seriously.[99] It is possible that this is the result of a misreading of Dermott's deeply satirical introduction to the 1756 edition, as this is the only place that anything approaching a list of early eighteenth-century masons occurs in the work, although it is hard to see how it could be mistaken for a list of attendees at the formative meetings of the Grand Lodge.

In order to assess the question of whether anybody involved with the writing of the history of the early years of the Grand Lodge was actually present at the meetings, it is necessary firstly to look at the history of the writing of Anderson's *Constitutions*, before looking at the details of the story they contain.

The original version of Anderson's *Constitutions* was published in 1723, having been commissioned by the London Grand Lodge in September 1721. In December 1721, the Grand Lodge set up a committee of fourteen "learned Brothers" to examine the draft of Anderson's *Constitutions*, and after their inspection some changes were made. In March 1722, the Grand Lodge instructed that the *Constitutions* be printed, and in 1723 they were.[100] There is no record of the changes made by the committee of fourteen "learned Brothers", and Anderson's original draft no longer exists. It is therefore impossible to tell how much of the published

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[98] For instance, Wilhelm Begemann, *History of Freemasonry*, as cited by Douglas Knoop and G.P. Jones, *Begemann's History of Freemasonry* (Manchester, 1941), p7.
[99] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p163; Laurence Dermott, *Ahiman Rezon: or, a Help to a Brother; Shewing the Excellency of Secrecy* (London, 1756, re-published 1764, 1778, 1782, 1795).
[100] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), pp113-114.

version of the *Constitutions* was Anderson's work, and how much was the influence of the committee of fourteen.

Unfortunately, the names of the fourteen "learned Brothers" were not recorded, and it is therefore possible only to make an informed guess as to who may have been amongst them. It would seem possible that Anthony Sayer (Grand Master in 1717, and Grand Warden in 1719), and George Payne (Grand Master in 1718 and 1720) would have been involved in that committee, and it seems possible that at least some of the other Grand Wardens from the first four years of the Grand Lodge would have been involved. Payne is a particularly likely candidate: he was an avid antiquarian, who, during his first stint as Grand Master, had taken a very active role in gathering together as many old documents concerning masonry as he could find, and whose activity in that area seems to have been the inspiration for the decision to commission a rewrite of the *Constitutions*. Payne's knowledge of the documented history of freemasonry was probably greater than that of any other member of the Grand Lodge, including Desaguliers.

John Theophilus Desaguliers is an equally likely candidate. By 1722 Desaguliers was heavily involved in the activities of the London Grand Lodge: he had been Grand Master in 1719, and was appointed Deputy Grand Master at the end of 1722. According to Anderson, it was during Desaguliers' stint as Grand Master that the revival of freemasonry had begun in earnest, with "several old Brothers" returning to the fold, the initiations of the first noblemen, and the creation of a number of new lodges.[101] At the Grand Feast in June 1721, Desaguliers gave an "eloquent oration about Masons and Masonry",[102] a detail confirmed by an entry in William Stukeley's diary.[103] It is clear that Desaguliers was a well respected figure within freemasonry by the end of 1721, and it seems improbable that he would not have been one of the committee of fourteen.

Desaguliers, Payne, and Anderson are of particular significance, as all three remained active within freemasonry until after the publication of the second version of Anderson's *Constitutions* in 1738. Both Desaguliers and Payne are named amongst those who "kindly encouraged" the author in his 1738 edition, as is Jacob Lamball, Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge in 1717,[104] although he seems less likely to have been involved in the original fourteen man committee: as a working carpenter, his expertise, unlike Desaguliers and Payne, was in a

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[101] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p110.
[102] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p113.
[103] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p64.
[104] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p229.

craft, rather than as a "learned Brother". As these men were all involved in freemasonry from the early 1720s through to 1738, they are likely to have been involved to some extent with the history of the formation of the Grand Lodge provided in the 1738 *Constitutions*. Therefore, the question of when they first became involved in freemasonry, and whether they were likely to have been present at the initial meetings which led to the formation of the Grand Lodge is significant.

As the author of the *Constitutions*, and therefore the individual with most input into the history they present, it seems sensible to tackle James Anderson first. The point at which Anderson's involvement with freemasonry began is unknown, although it is possible that he was initiated while still living in his native Scotland: Anderson's father was a prominent member of an Aberdeen Lodge, serving as its Master during the 1690s,[105] and it would not be unusual for a prominent mason's son to be initiated into the same lodge. It is therefore quite likely that Anderson was already a mason, in the Scottish operative tradition, before he moved to London in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Regardless of this, Anderson's name does not appear in his own history of freemasonry until 1721, when he records that he was commissioned by the Grand Lodge to compile the *Constitutions*. Furthermore, he did not serve as an officer of the Grand Lodge until 1722 when he was Grand Warden.

Similarly, there is no evidence concerning the initiation of Desaguliers. Harrison has suggested, not unreasonably, that he may have been initiated around 1713 when he moved to London.[106] However, his name does not appear in Anderson's history until 1719, when he was elected as Grand Master: clearly by that time Desaguliers was held in high enough regard by freemasons in London to warrant electing him to that position, and it therefore seems very plausible that he had been initiated by the time of the first meeting of the four lodges in1716. However, simply being a freemason in London does not constitute evidence of attendance at any particular meeting of freemasons, whether an individual lodge meeting, or the meeting in the Goose and Gridiron alehouse which led to the formation of the London Grand Lodge in 1717. Harrison has claimed that Desaguliers must have been present at what he describes as the "groundbreaking meeting"[107] which led to the formation of the London Grand Lodge. However, as will be discussed shortly, this makes a bold assumption regarding the nature of the meetings which led to the formation of the London Grand Lodge, which is not supported by the available evidence. Desaguliers remained an influential voice in the Grand Lodge from

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[105] A.L. Miller 'The Connection of Dr James Anderson of the *Constitutions* with Aberdeen and Aberdeen University', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum (AQC)*, vol xxxvi (1923), p91.
[106] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p163.
[107] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p163.

1719 until his death in 1744, and would certainly have been available in 1738 to advise Anderson on any areas of freemasonic history should the need arise. It would therefore seem curious for his name not to be mentioned earlier than 1719 if Harrison's suggestion is accurate.

George Payne and Jacob Lamball provide slightly more likely candidates for presence in those early meetings. Payne was elected as Grand Master just a year after the formation of the London Grand Lodge, and he was again Grand Master in 1720, and Grand Warden in 1724. As such he would seem to be a likely candidate to have been involved in the earliest meetings: although it is not impossible for a relative newcomer to freemasonry to become rapidly involved in the politics of freemasonry, as witnessed by William Stukeley's involvement in the Grand Lodge less than six months after his initiation. Lamball was elected as the first Grand Warden, and it therefore seems almost undeniable that he would have been present at least at the inaugural meeting of 1717, if not the formative meeting of 1716. However, it is not known how much influence, if any, either of them had on the 1738 *Constitutions*: Payne is last mentioned in the Grand Lodge minutes in 1725 when he was seconded onto the commission for charity. Lamball, at least, seems to have been actively involved in the Grand Lodge into the late 1730s: in 1736 he acted as temporary Grand Warden at a Grand Lodge meeting in place of one of the two Grand Wardens who themselves were acting as temporary Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master. Lamball is, therefore, the only person who has a probable connection with both the initial meetings, and an active involvement in Grand Lodge freemasonry in the late 1730s, and is therefore possibly the only person to whom Anderson could have turned to fill any gaps in his history of the formation of the Grand Lodge. Whether Anderson took advantage of that possibility is, however, completely unknown, and there is good reason to suppose that either he did not, or that if he did, Lamball had a less than clear memory of the events which had taken place two decades earlier.

In looking at the likelihood of the potential contributors to Anderson's *Constitutions* being present at the formation of the Grand Lodge, one other piece of evidence needs to be considered: the detail, or, more specifically, the lack of detail contained in Anderson's account. As already mentioned, Anderson fails to name a single attendee at the formative meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1716, and seems unable even to name the Master Mason who took the Chair, stating merely that he was "the oldest Master Mason (now the Master of a Lodge)".[108] Considering their interest in the history of freemasonry, it seems unlikely that Anderson would not have consulted with Desaguliers and Payne before writing this account,

[108] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p109.

and it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that none of the three were aware of any more detail. There are only three plausible explanations for the lack of detail: that there was some reason to keep the details of this early meeting confidential; that none of Anderson, Desaguliers or Lamball were present at the meeting; or those that were present had forgotten a significant amount of detail.

The suggestion that the details were deliberately kept confidential would seem unlikely: at other points in the *Constitutions*, Anderson is not afraid to state when details are confidential, thus, phrases such as "leaving what must not, and indeed cannot be committed to writing"[109] appear. Furthermore, the idea that the details of this particular meeting would have reason to maintain an element of secrecy some twenty two years after the event, while the details of all other meetings of the same body include the names of at least some of those present, along with other details, seems highly unlikely. It is impossible to tell which of the other two options is the case. However, either possibility has a significant implication regarding the nature of the meeting: the details were not considered significant enough at the time of the meeting to either record, or to warrant remembering such details as the name of the Master Mason who took the Chair.

Anderson's haziness continues for the first few years of the Grand Lodge. His entry for the first meeting of the new Grand Lodge, the Grand Feast of 1717, is equally lacking in detail. Once again, the initial Chair of the meeting is not named, again being referred to simply as "the oldest Master Mason". He then goes on to name the elected officers: Sayer, Lamball, and Captain Joseph Elliott, and states that the new Grand Master "commanded the Masters and Wardens of Lodges to meet the Grand Officers every Quarter in Communication".[110] However, while there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the names of the officers, which agree with those in the minute book of the Grand Lodge, the suggestion that Sayer made such an instruction is questionable. Anderson seems determined to convince his readers that the Quarterly Communications began in earnest during the first years of the Grand Lodge: he states that they were re-introduced by the 1716 meeting at the Apple Tree Tavern, that Anthony Sayer instructed the Officers of Lodges to attend them in 1717, and that George Payne "recommended the strict observance of the Quarterly Communications" at the feast of 1718 where he was elected Grand Master.[111] Despite these statements, there is no record of a Quarterly Communication occurring at any point prior to December 1720. Although it is possible that the records concerning earlier Quarterly Communications have been lost, it

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[109] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p14.
[110] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), pp109-110.
[111] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p110.

seems more likely that either no such meetings took place or that they were so informal as to not require the keeping of minutes. As will be discussed shortly, the most likely explanation is the former.

Anderson's history of the early years of the Grand Lodge becomes gradually more detailed as the years progress: in 1718 he gives brief details of the new Grand Master Payne's desire to collect as many old manuscripts relating to freemasonry as possible; and in 1719 he not only mentions an oration given by the new Grand Master, Desaguliers, but he also gives some details of the growth in popularity of freemasonry, stating that "several old Brothers" returned to the fold, the initiations of the first noblemen took place, and that a number of new lodges were created.[112] By 1721 Anderson has started to detail the Quarterly Communications alongside the annual Grand Feasts, and by 1723 he is specifying the number of lodges represented at each meeting alongside other details.

However, there is reason to question the accuracy of Anderson's information for these years. As already mentioned, there is only one other source written by someone involved in the early years of Grand Lodge freemasonry: the diaries and autobiography of William Stukeley. While at times Stukeley agrees with Anderson, at others, there is conflicting information. According to Stukeley, when he was made a freemason in January 1721, he was "the first person made a free mason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony".[113] If Anderson's statements concerning the growth of popularity in freemasonry in 1719 are accurate, then not only is Stukeley's assessment incorrect in that Anderson clearly informs his readers that the first noble brethren were initiated in 1719, but Stukeley should not have had a problem finding enough freemasons, as Anderson claims that several new lodges were warranted just two years before. Such inconsistencies in the two versions seem impossible to resolve satisfactorily: either Stukeley or Anderson must be misguided in their statements. If we accept Anderson's version of events, then Stukeley's initiation must either have taken place before the Grand Feast in 1719, or he should not have faced problems finding sufficient numbers of freemasons to perform the initiation. If we accept Stukeley's statements, then Anderson must be wrong when he states that new masons and new lodges began to appear in London in 1719.

Having established a number of significant difficulties with the available material, the question arises of what can be drawn from those sources to inform our view of the early years

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[112] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p110.
[113] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p122.

of Grand Lodge freemasonry. In order to assess this, it seems necessary to start with the meeting at the Apple Tree Tavern in 1716, which Anderson described as follows:

> A.D. 1716. the few Lodges at London finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, thought fit to cement under a Grand Master as the Center of Union and Harmony, viz. the Lodges that met,
>
> 1. At the Goose and Gridiron Ale-House in St Paul's Church-Yard.
> 2. At the Crown Ale-House in Parker's Street near Drury Lane.
> 3. At the Apple-Tree Tavern in Charles Street, Covent Garden.
> 4. At the Rummer And Grapes Tavern in Channel-Row, Westminster.
>
> They and some old Brothers met at the said Apple-Tree, and having put into the Chair the oldest Master Mason (now the Master of a Lodge) they constituted themselves a Grand Lodge Pro Tempore in Due Form, and forthwith revived the Quarterly Communication of the Officers of the Lodge (call'd the Grand Lodge) resolv'd to hold the Annual Assembly and Feast, and then to chuse a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honour of a Noble Brother at their Head.[114]

Anderson is clearly portraying the meeting as being one of great significance: he states that the meeting not only formed a "Grand Lodge pro tempore", but that it resolved to work toward having a "Noble Brother" as Grand Master. There can be no doubt that Anderson's view of the meeting is of one which is determined to make freemasonry a significant factor in the London social scene, and holds lofty ambitions to attain such a position. This seems to be somewhat at odds with the distinct lack of any other evidence concerning this meeting, and with the lack of detail provided by Anderson. It seems hard to believe that the details of such an important meeting would not be recorded by those present; that no other record of the decisions made by the meeting would be kept; or that those present would forget significant details such as the name of the Master Mason in the Chair (assuming that at least Lamball had been present and was consulted by Anderson). Even if it was not felt necessary to keep records in 1716, it would seem particularly odd that no record of what was later portrayed as such an important meeting would appear either in Anderson's original version of the *Constitutions*, or in records kept by the Grand Lodge after the appointment of its first secretary in 1723. Therefore, the only reasonable conclusion is, that in 1716, the meeting at the Apple Tree Tavern was not considered to be of any great importance. The importance placed on it in 1738, and ever since, is quite simply a projection based on the success that the London Grand Lodge had achieved by the 1730s.

Anderson's depiction of freemasonry prior to 1716 is also worth noting. According to Anderson, freemasonry was in a state of decline, neglected by its old supporters. There is an

[114] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p109.

implication that there had been a decline in the number of Lodges, with only a handful now meeting. This in itself seems at odds with the idea that the meeting determined to elect a "Noble Brother" to its head: if freemasonry really was in such a poor state in 1716 that only four lodges were meeting, the idea of creating a body which would attract the nobility to lead it would seem incredibly ambitious. However, if, as seems likely, Anderson had been initiated into a Scottish lodge, his perception of London freemasonry may have been coloured by his experience of freemasonry in Scotland, where lodges were generally permanent organisations with regular meetings; while in England, as already discussed, the dominant form of the lodge was that of the occasional institution, with, by 1716, merely a handful of more permanent institutions. The fact (if, indeed, it is an accurate statement) that only four lodges existed in London by 1716 may not actually indicate a decline in freemasonry in London at all, even if Anderson perceived it to be so. It is also worth noting that Anderson refers to the fact that alongside the members of the four lodges, the meeting was attended by "some old Brothers", with an implication that these brethren were not attached to a permanent lodge: perhaps another indicator that a significant number of London freemasons were still meeting only for specific occasions, such as the initiation of new brethren, or for larger social gatherings of freemasons.

It seems that a reassessment of the importance of this meeting is required. Rather than being a meeting with the intention of creating a Grand Lodge, reviving the Quarterly Communications, and finding a "Noble Brother" to be Grand Master, it would seem much more likely that this meeting was in fact a social gathering of a relatively small number of active Freemasons, some of whom were connected to the four permanent lodges in London, with others still observing the older style of occasional English freemasonry. The discussions at that meeting may well have led to the creation of a Grand Lodge, but it seems worth questioning whether this was in fact the intent of those present, or whether it was simply a by-product of discussions at what was primarily a social event. The latter would certainly account for the lack of detail and clarity in Anderson's description.

From this suggestion, it also seems necessary to ask whether the members of the meeting genuinely sought to set up a society which would attract a "Noble Brother" to lead it, or whether this is, in fact, something else which was projected back on to this meeting by those who later found themselves in an organisation with such leadership. It would seem reasonable to conclude that no members of the nobility were actively involved with freemasonry at the time of the meeting: if they had been, then they would surely have been elected as the first Grand Master, either as the result of a desire to have a "Noble Brother at their head", or simply to place the newly formed Grand Lodge into a position whereby it could best attract

new members. It therefore seems that, far from the grand intentions implied by Anderson, the most likely scenario for the 1716 meeting is that it was a social meeting of members of a number of lodges, along with a number of freemasons who had no lodge affiliations. It would certainly not be unreasonable to argue that, in the visibly expanding club culture of London, freemasons would have begun to meet each other on a more organised and more regular basis than had previously been the case, and that this could simply be one in a number of regular social gatherings.

As already discussed, the concept of secular clubs holding feasts annually on a particular saints day had begun to appear in London at the end of the seventeenth century, but, as demonstrated by Clark, these had begun to decline by 1715.[115] It does not, therefore, seem implausible that a number of those freemasons present at the Apple Tree Tavern should at some point during the previous two decades have been members of a society which indulged in such an annual feast, only to find those societies falling by the wayside as other societies became more popular. Under such circumstances, it is quite possible that the idea of holding an annual feast for freemasons would be suggested at such a meeting. It therefore appears very likely that the meeting at the Apple Tree Tavern did not, as Anderson suggests with the benefit of hindsight, seek to unify the failing society of freemasonry, nor did it seek to extend their influence until they could entice a "noble Brother" to the head of the order. Instead, it is perfectly reasonable to suspect that the meeting was little more than a social gathering of a number of freemasons from four lodges, along with those unaffiliated to any particular lodge, which simply decided, through the course of normal conversation, to hold an annual social feast at which freemasons would gather together. The idea that a Master and two Wardens would be elected to oversee the feast would be perfectly in keeping with the concepts of freemasonic gatherings, and it would naturally follow that those officers would be responsible for the business of organising the following year's feast, and act as the officers of the society for the coming year.

Such a suggestion seems perfectly in keeping with the limited knowledge we have of the activities of the London Grand Lodge during its first few years. For the first few years of its existence, the only meetings of the Grand Lodge were the annual feasts, which simply elected figurehead officers for the following year. Despite Anderson's desire to show the existence of Quarterly Communications from 1716, there is no evidence of any such meeting occurring before December 1720. This would match up with the concept of the Grand Feast being nothing more than an occasion at which London freemasons would gather on a social basis.

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[115] Clark, *British Clubs*, p69.

Thus, it is most likely that when the first Grand Feast was held on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1717 it was not, at the time, viewed as the first meeting of a new body designed to act as a unifying and governing body for English freemasonry, and there seems to be good evidence to suggest that this continued to be the case for at least the first four years of its existence.

The most obvious example of such evidence occurs within the minutes of the London Grand Lodge itself. The minutes themselves do not begin until 1723, which is, itself, an indicator of the nature of the Grand Lodge during its formative years: any organisation intending to set itself up as a uniting and governing body would undoubtedly have kept detailed minutes from its earliest meetings. It is, of course, possible that minutes were kept and have since been lost: however, no mention is made of minutes prior to 1723 anywhere within the records of freemasonry.

The earliest minutes appear to be from an organisation still struggling to find its feet and determine its own structure and authority. The first minutes come from the Grand Feast on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1723, and hold two particularly telling records. The first of these is the motion put to the meeting, and passed, that "it is not in the Power of any person or Body of Men to make any alteration or Innovation in the Body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the annual Grand Lodge".[116] This would appear to be the first attempt by the Grand Lodge to exercise such power, and is followed up over the next few meetings with similarly vague regulations: at the Quarterly Communication of 19 February 1724, it was noted that "some masons have mett and formed a lodge without the Grand Master's leave", and agreed that "no such person be admitted into regular lodges";[117] while in November the same year, this ruling was clarified with a regulation that any brethren meeting "irregularly" (i.e. without the consent of the Grand Lodge) and making new masons within ten miles of London should not be admitted to a regular lodge "unless they first apply to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge".[118] In 1725, the minutes record the decision that the making of new master masons was no longer to be the exclusive right of the Quarterly Communications, extending that right to individual lodges.[119] In addition to these regulations regarding the power of the Grand Lodge, are a number of discussions regarding the constituency of Quarterly Communications: in 1724, voting rights were extended to include all previous Grand Masters, while three years later all previous Grand Wardens were extended the same right.[120] Such

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[116] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p67.
[117] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p73.
[118] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p78.
[119] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p84.
[120] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, pp78 & 93.

discussions and decisions do not appear consistent with the idea of an organisation which has already been acting as a governing body for over half a decade.

The second entry of significance relates to the Grand Feast of 1723, and concerns the right of the Grand Master to appoint his own deputy. The new Grand Master, the Earl of Dalkeith, appointed Desaguliers as Deputy Grand Master. However, the old Grand Master (the Duke of Wharton) objected to the appointment and called for a vote, which found in favour of Desaguliers by 43 votes to 42. After the vote, a Brother Robinson protested against Wharton's "unprecedented, unwarrantable, and irregular" behaviour, which tended to "introduce into the society a Breach of Harmony, with the utmost disorder and confusion", after which "the late Grand Master went away from the Hall without ceremony".[121] This situation would seem to be related to the events which had led to Wharton being elected Grand Master the previous year: according to Anderson's *Constitutions*, Montagu (Grand Master in 1721) had failed to organise a feast for 1722, so Wharton had organised one himself and had himself elected as Grand Master. The situation had been temporarily resolved in December 1722, when Montagu called a meeting and proclaimed Wharton to be Grand Master, with Desaguliers as his deputy.[122] While the dispute itself was quickly resolved, and freemasonry continued afterward with no long-lasting effects (barring the relatively short-lived appearance of Wharton's quasi-masonic Order of Gormagons in late 1723), the fact that such a dispute could occur seems to show a body still struggling to discover the nature of its power and constitution.

There is further evidence from the minutes regarding the level of power the Grand Lodge attempted to exert during its early years, specifically with regard to the geographic extent of its jurisdiction. In February 1724, the Grand Lodge agreed that "No Brother [may] belong to more than one lodge at one time within the Bills of Mortality"; while in November 1724, they agreed that their ruling regarding brethren meeting irregularly and making new masons without the consent of the Grand Lodge was applicable only to those doing so within ten miles of London. Such comments are followed in March 1725 by the statement that "any Brother that belongs to the Ffrench Lodge held at the sign of Solomons Temple shall not have the Liberty to belong to any other Lodge within the Bills of Mortality".[123] The Bills of Mortality is a reference to the area covered by the regular publication of statistics of mortality gathered by parish clerks, and consisted of the City of London, the Inns of Court, Westminster, and the immediate surrounding area (including Lambeth, Bermondsey,

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[121] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, pp69-70.
[122] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), pp114-115.
[123] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, pp73, 78 & 80.

Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Spitalfields): basically, what in the twenty-first century is considered to be the heart of Greater London. Clearly as late as 1725, the Grand Lodge was still not endeavouring to enforce its legislation outside London and the surrounding area. The earliest affiliated lodges outside of the London area came under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge only during 1724, and it is quite possible that there were a number of other country lodges (as the Grand Lodge referred to those lodges outside of London) which did not affiliate at this time. As will be discussed later, after 1725, the Grand Lodge seemed to make efforts to extend its influence by sending visitations around the country, but prior to that date there is no evidence to suggest that they made any serious attempt to extend their jurisdiction beyond the Bills of Mortality.

Further evidence to support this assertion can be found in Anderson's original version of the *Constitutions*, published in 1723. The introduction to the General Regulations states that the author has "digested them... for the Use of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster", while the Charges are similarly addressed.[124] Such statements are omitted from the 1738 version, which introduces the Charges and the Regulations with the simple statements that they were compiled by Anderson from ancient records and approved by the Grand Lodge in 1722.[125] It is particularly telling to compare points from the 1723 and 1738 versions of the *Constitutions* to demonstrate the development of a more nationwide viewpoint after 1723, with two particular examples being significant. Anderson refers to the dwindling building trade under James II: in 1723, he states that during this time, "the Lodges of Free-Masons in London much dwindled into ignorance, by not being duly cultivated".[126] However, by 1738 this had changed to: "the Art [of Freemasonry] was much neglected, and People of all sorts were otherwise engag'd in this [James II's] reign".[127] Similarly, where the 1738 version goes into detail regarding the formation of the Grand Lodge, the 1723 version is content to state that the recent crowning of King George has "reviv'd the drooping Lodges of London... with several worthy particular Lodges, that have; quarterly Communications, and an Annual grand Assembly".[128] Indeed, nothing in the 1723 *Constitutions* suggests that the London Grand Lodge, or the Grand Master is claiming jurisdiction over the whole of England, in contrast to the 1738 version which makes a number of references to "the Grand Master of England".[129]

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[124] James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free Masons* (London, 1723), pp58 & 49.
[125] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), pp143 & 152.
[126] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p41.
[127] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), pp105-106.
[128] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p47.
[129] For instance, Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p96, in reference to Lord Kingston.

Exactly when the London Grand Lodge began to consider itself Grand Lodge of England is not clear. The term "English Grand Lodge", which is now usually applied to the London Grand Lodge, is itself an anachronism, and does not appear anywhere prior to 1794, when it is mentioned in passing in a sermon by John Penn.[130] Ironically, the first reference to the London Grand Lodge which suggests it was taking a more nationwide view comes from a speech given in 1726 to the York Grand Lodge, in which the speaker refers to the fact that the Grand Master of the London Grand Lodge uses the title "Grand Master of England".[131] There appears to be a change in the terminology used by the London Grand Lodge itself between 1723 and 1727: in 1723, throughout Anderson's *Constitutions*, the organisation is frequently referred to simply as "Grand Lodge"; however, by 1727, it is being referred to as the Grand Lodge of "the ancient society of Free and Accepted Masons".[132] In fact, the first time that there is any explicit statement from the Grand Lodge claiming Mastership over all of England appears in the references to the Grand Masters of England in Anderson's 1738 version of the *Constitutions*. It seems unlikely that it would have been much beyond 1727 that the London Grand Lodge considered itself to be a governing body over English freemasonry in general. Although originally the London Grand Lodge restricted itself to dealing with London lodges only, by 1727 it had warranted lodges in Bath, Bristol, Norwich, Chichester, Chester, Carmarthen, Gosport and Salford, as well as those in London. This demonstrates a significant change in the Grand Lodge's attitude to the geographical bounds of its jurisdiction during the mid 1720s.

There is even reason to question when the term "Grand Lodge" began to be used to apply to the institution rather than the individual annual meetings. Undoubtedly it was in use by 1722, as is clear from Anderson's first edition of the *Constitutions*. However, even at this point, the term is used for both the institution and the individual meetings. For example, it is stated that each Lodge may be represented "at the three Quarterly Communications... and... the Annual Grand Lodge",[133] implying that the Grand Lodge is a separate meeting to the Quarterly Communications, rather than an institution meeting four times each year. It would appear that at this point the term was in a state of transition. However, more important is the fact that William Stukeley at no point makes reference to a Grand Lodge. For instance, the 1721 meeting referred to by Anderson as the Grand Lodge's annual feast is referred to by Stukeley

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[130] John Penn, *A sermon preached at the Parish Church of Beccles, in the County of Suffolk on Tuesday, July 29, 1794; on constituting the Apollo Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons* (Norwich, 1794), p18.
[131] Francis Drake, *A Speech Deliver'd to the Worshipful and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons* (York, 1727), p13.
[132] Such as, in *Evening Journal* (London, Thursday, December 28, 1727), Issue 23.
[133] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p61.

in the following way: "The Masons had a dinner at Stationers' Hall".[134] Although Stukeley does refer to the office of Grand Warden, he does not refer to the annual meetings, or the Quarterly Communications as meetings of a Grand Lodge. As the only direct evidence we have concerning the views of London freemasons in the early 1720s, we can conclude, albeit rather tentatively, that the freemasonic populace of London did not necessarily recognise the Quarterly Communications and Annual Feasts as being part of a governing institution which required such a title as Grand Lodge, but rather as occasional meetings and feasts.

Furthermore, Knoop and Jones have highlighted the fact that an anonymous work entitled *A Defence of Masonry* published in 1730, but believed to be written in 1722, makes no mention at all of the founding of the Grand Lodge, despite the fact that it details events in the history of freemasonry up to and including 1721.[135] It is unclear how Knoop and Jones came by the date of 1722, and it may simply be based on the fact that events after 1721 are not detailed. Similarly, it is unclear as to how, when the work was reproduced by George Oliver in 1847, the editor was able to attribute it to James Anderson,[136] as there seems to be no evidence to support this attribution. However, assuming that a date of the early 1720s is not unreasonable, the fact that the London Grand Lodge is not mentioned must cast some doubt on to the importance of the organisation prior to 1722, and supports the suggestion that for the first few years of its existence the Grand Lodge was more concerned with organising the annual Grand Feast, than acting as a centralising and governing organisation.

One other piece of evidence needs to be considered when looking at the nature of the Grand Lodge in the first few years of its existence: the place where the Grand Feast was held. Anderson records that the Grand Feast from 1717 until 1720 was held in the Goose and Gridiron tavern in St Paul's Churchyard, after which time it was moved to Stationers' Hall in Ludgate Street, in order to accommodate the growing number of attendees.[137] This information seems, on the surface, to be largely irrelevant: however, it does give an indication of the size of the early gatherings. The largest room in the Goose and Gridiron tavern measured a little over fourteen foot by twenty-one foot.[138] It would be difficult to host a feast for more than fifty attendees in such a room, and that number would probably find the

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[134] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p64.
[135] Douglas Knoop and G.P. Jones, *The Scope and Method of Masonic History* (Manchester, 1944), pp5-6.
[136] George Oliver, *The Golden Remains of the Early Masonic Writers, etc.*, Vol 1, (London, 1847).
[137] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), pp109-112.
[138] Ralph W. Omholt, *The Enigma of Freemasonry* (Washington, 2007). The chapter containing this information was also reproduced in *The Lodgeroom Magazine* (1 Jan 2008) Volume 3, an on-line version of which is available at <http://www.lodgeroomus.net/downloadcenter/uploads/01Jan08.pdf>, accessed 13 March 2009.

conditions somewhat cramped. We can therefore assume that, until 1721, there were no more than forty to fifty attendees at the annual feast, and quite possibly fewer during the early years. Considering that this was intended as a gathering for all London freemasons, this either shows that freemasonry in London was in a particularly poor state during the period 1717-1721, or that many freemasons simply did not take part in the annual feast. In 1721, the feast was moved to a larger venue, due to the "Grand Master observing the Number of Lodges to encrease".[139] In fact, it would seem to have increased dramatically over the previous year as, according to a report in *The Post Boy*, it was attended by "between two and three hundred of the ancient Fraternity".[140]

It would therefore seem reasonable to suppose that, around 1721, the popularity of the feast had reached a point where it required space for more than fifty guests. Considering Anderson's claims for Desaguliers' Grand Mastership in 1719, that more brethren were being initiated, and more new lodges constituted, it seems somewhat surprising that it took a further two years for the Goose and Gridiron to be unable to house the number wishing to attend the feast. The only reasonable conclusion is that Anderson was either mistaken, or was deliberately bolstering Desaguliers' period of rule, and gives yet another reason to mistrust at least some details of his account.

Having established the nature of the London Grand Lodge in its early years, the question remains of how the lodges of London, and the rest of England, interacted with the Grand Lodge during that period. This question is again frustrated by the lack of available evidence. The only minutes of an English masonic lodge which exist from this period are those of Alnwick, which, as discussed earlier, was effectively a Scottish operative lodge, and is therefore of little value in assessing the interactions between English accepted lodges and the Grand Lodge. It is, furthermore, complicated by the question of how many lodges were in existence at any point. The lists of lodges produced by John Lane in 1894 have been used as the definitive source of information concerning English lodges between 1717 and 1894; however, despite the reliance on these lists for over a century, there are problems with them. Firstly, they list only those lodges which came under the jurisdiction of the London Grand Lodge, (and the Grand Lodge of York during the 1760s), with no attempt to compile a list of irregular lodges. Secondly, there are major gaps in the lists, particularly during the early years of Grand Lodge freemasonry: despite Lane's claims in his introduction that he consulted every available source, including the minutes of the London Grand Lodge, his lists fail to

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[139] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p112.
[140] *Post Boy* (London, 24-27 June 1721).

record no fewer than forty one of the eighty seven lodges detailed in the two lists at the front of the first Grand Lodge minute book.[141]

The only other source for the number of lodges is Anderson's 1738 version of *The Constitutions*, which from 1721 details the number of lodges represented at each meeting. As already discussed, the detail of Anderson's *Constitutions* for the early period of the Grand Lodge is questionable, and his desire to show a continually growing organisation has certainly coloured that detail. It is not clear exactly where Anderson obtained the information concerning the number of lodges attending meetings prior to 1723 (after which the minutes of the Grand Lodge record details of the lodges attending), and it is at least possible that he simply made the numbers up. However, with no other evidence, we have little option but to use Anderson's figures as a starting point, given in the table below.

Alongside Anderson's numbers, Lane gives the dates of Constitution of each lodge, based on dates given in early Engraved Lists,[142] enabling us to produce a number of lodges associated with the Grand Lodge at any time (albeit with the drawbacks of Lane's lists already highlighted). There is also a third, highly tentative figure, which can be calculated. In the lodge lists provided in the minute book of the Grand Lodge, each lodge is given a number which indicates the point at which it joined the Grand Lodge. It should be noted that the order of precedence was hotly debated during the mid 1720s, and in the lodge minutes of 1727 it is noted that the various disputes concerning precedence of the lodges need to be finally settled.[143] Nonetheless, by noting the order of lodges given in 1723 and 1725, and comparing that with the dates given for the lodges listed in Lane's lists, it is possible to assess how many of those lodges missing from Lane's lists would have been associated with the London Grand Lodge by that date. There are, of course, a number of flaws in this approach, not least of which is the fact that any lodges which fell out of existence prior to 1723 would not be listed, and would therefore be absent from the figures; alongside which, the order of precedence in the 1723 and 1725 lists has a number of lodges which appear earlier than would be expected if Lane's dates of constitution are accurate, and one or two which appear in the 1723 list despite not being granted a constitution until 1724. As a result of this, I have had to decide with each individual lodge at which point to include it in my figures.[144] Needless to say, these

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[141] John Lane, *Masonic Records 1717-1894* (London, 1894). Two lists of lodges exist in the MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731. These detail the lodges under Grand Lodge jurisdiction in 1723 and 1725 respectively.

[142] The "Engraved Lists" are those lists produced periodically by Grand Lodge listing all of the lodges under their jurisdiction. They usually include a symbolic/pictorial representation of the meeting place of the lodge, hence the term "engraved". The first such list was produced in 1729.

[143] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p103.

[144] See appendix 2 (p3) for the full list of lodges associated with Grand Lodge prior to 1740.

figures are little more than educated guesses, and are undoubtedly inaccurate, albeit that the method applied should produce a more accurate picture than either Lane or Anderson.

Date	Anderson	Lane	Adjusted
1716	4	3	[145]4
June 1721	12	4	5
September 1721	16	5	7
December 1721	20	5	7
March 1722	24	7	8
April 1723	30	17	43
November 1723	30	24	[146]52
February 1724	26	[147]26	56
April 1724	31	[148]28	59

There are a number of assumptions made in my adjusted figures which deserve some comment. Although a number of country lodges were constituted in 1724, those which have more accurate dates of constitution occur after June. I have therefore assumed that none of these were affiliated with the Grand Lodge prior to April 1724: this fits in with the fact that throughout 1724, as already discussed, the Grand Lodge was still considering its jurisdiction to be largely covered by the Bills of Mortality. Of the fifty two lodges listed in the Grand Lodge minute book for 1723, seven have disappeared by the time of the 1725 list: I have assumed that all of these ceased operating after April 1724. The figure for March 1722 is particularly unclear: a lodge which, according to Lane, was constituted in January 1722 appears at number forty nine in the 1723 list, after seventeen lodges for which Lane gives later dates of constitution. The true figure could therefore be anywhere between nine and forty nine. The lower figure has been given for two reasons: firstly, very few lodges appear to have been constituted in early 1722; and secondly, the main bulk of lodge constitutions seems to have occurred in early to mid 1723. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that those missed from Lane's lists follow this general pattern.

Despite the tentative nature of these figures, they do show quite a different pattern to that presented by Anderson. Anderson's figures suggest a gradual, but constant increase in the number of lodges coming under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge; whereas Lane's lists, and the adjusted figures garnered from them and from the Grand Lodge minute book show a much slower start, with a very limited number of lodges involving themselves with the Grand

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[145] The Apple Tree Tavern confuses the issue of lodges in 1716. The details of this confusion are discussed later in the main text. However, for my adjusted figure, I have assumed that it was officially associated with Grand Lodge prior to the date of its constitution.
[146] This is the number of lodges listed at the front of the MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, for those lodges affiliated with Grand Lodge in 1723.
[147] Although some lodges have an exact date of constitution in the Engraved Lists and in Lane's List, others (particularly during 1724) generally give only the year. Therefore the figures for February and April 1724 are not exact: twelve lodges were constituted during 1724. I have therefore used a pro rata approach, and assumed one lodge constituted per month.
[148] See the previous note.

Lodge up to 1722, with the main bulk of new lodges appearing in the following year, marking the start of an astonishingly impressive rate of expansion over the following two years. Such a rapid change would seem to be in keeping with the nature of the early minutes of the London Grand Lodge which, as already discussed, show an organisation struggling to understand its own power and influence, rather than one which has been gradually expanding over a number of years.

However, the question of lodges being affiliated with the Grand Lodge is more complex than either Anderson or Lane make out, and can not be explained simply by the number of lodges which accepted a constitution from the Grand Lodge, or were in any other way officially under their auspices. In fact, as will be shown, there is reason to doubt that any lodge was considered to be officially under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge prior to 1723.

The questions concerning affiliation of lodges with the Grand Lodge goes right back to the first meeting in 1716,.and the status of the lodge which hosted that meeting: that which met at the Apple Tree Tavern. There is no reason to doubt that members of that lodge did indeed attend the 1716 meeting. Furthermore, Anthony Sayer, the first Grand Master, elected in 1717, was a member of the Apple Tree Tavern lodge. There can be no doubt, then, that members of that lodge were involved in the early years of the Grand Lodge. However, the Apple Tree Tavern lodge did not accept a warrant from the Grand Lodge until 27 February 1723,[149] by which time it had moved its regular meeting place to the Queen's Head in Wardour Street. This seems to be a curious situation. Apparently, the Apple Tree Tavern was involved in Grand Lodge activity six years before it officially recognised the authority of the Grand Lodge. Despite this late date for accepting a warrant, the Queen's Head lodge (i.e. Apple Tree Tavern lodge) appears as number two in the list of lodges from the front of the Grand Lodge minute book for both 1723 and 1725.[150] It is only after the disputes concerning precedence of lodges that it is relegated to number eleven in the lodge lists,[151] in acknowledgement of the fact that ten other lodges had accepted warrants prior to them.

This situation is further complicated by the fact that the other three lodges involved in those original meetings did not directly accept warrants, but are simply given dates of constitution of 1691 (Goose and Gridiron), 1712 (Crown), and "Time Immemorial" (Rummer and Grapes), with no evidence to support those dates. Anderson gives a partial, albeit rather unconvincing answer to this oddity, by stating that "After they [the Apple Tree Tavern lodge] removed to

[149] Grand Lodge of England, *List of Regular Lodges*.
[150] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge 1723-1731.
[151] Grand Lodge of England, *List of Regular Lodges*.

the Queen's Head, upon some difference, the members that met there came under a new constitution, tho' they wanted it not, and it is therefore placed at this number".[152] This is particularly unconvincing, as two of the other three lodges had also moved by 1723: the Crown lodge was now meeting at The Queen's Head in Turnstile, Holborn; while the Rummer and Grapes had moved to the Horn Tavern in Westminster. Why should it be that only the Apple Tree Tavern lodge should be forced to accept a new constitution in 1723, when the other two lodges were allowed to keep their status as founding lodges? Furthermore, why did the Queen's Head (i.e. Apple Tree Tavern) Lodge appear as second in the list of lodges provided in the Grand Lodge minute book for both 1723 and 1725, only being relegated to number eleven after the Grand Lodge felt it necessary to deal with the questions of precedence of the various lodges? Clearly the fact that the Grand Lodge forced a new constitution onto the Queen's Head Lodge in 1723 was not significant enough to affect the lodge's precedence prior to 1727.

The assessment of this apparent contradiction is made virtually impossible by the lack of any records between 1717 and 1723 which could provide an explanation. However, it is possible that the Apple Tree Tavern lodge simply ceased to operate at some point after 1718, with several members of the lodge forming a new lodge at the Queen's Head in, or sometime before 1723. Thus, the Queen's Head lodge may well have a significant cross-over of membership with the older Apple Tree Tavern lodge, but could, in essence, be a completely different institution, requiring a new warrant from the Grand Lodge in 1723, and thus its lower placing in the lists after 1729. It is worth noting that, after Anderson's comment in 1738 regarding the connection between the Apple Tree Tavern lodge and the Queen's Head lodge, no further comment on the matter is found until Lane's list in 1894, which, presumably based on Anderson's statement, lists the two lodges as being the same, simply changing location in 1723.[153] If this is the case, then the higher position in the lists of 1723 and 1725 may be a result of the way in which lodges and the Grand Lodge interacted in the years prior to 1723 (which will be looked at in more depth shortly), and the association of the lodge with the first Grand Master.

Even if the Apple Tree Tavern Lodge did cease to exist prior to 1720, there is good reason to question the way in which the lodges interacted with the Grand Lodge prior to 1723. It is not known how many permanent lodges existed in London at any particular point in the early eighteenth century, although after 1723 there are lists of those affiliated with the Grand Lodge. However, the question arises as to how many lodges existed between 1717 and 1723, and how

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[152] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p185.
[153] Lane, *Masonic Records*.

they related to the Grand Lodge. There is, unfortunately, virtually no evidence concerning any specific lodges during this period. There is Anderson's limited information in *The Constitutions*, which goes no further than naming the four lodges present at the initial meeting in 1716, and then giving the number of lodges represented at most meetings between 1721 and 1723 which, as already discussed, is of dubious accuracy. The engraved lists, first published in 1729, give the dates of constitution for lodges, which have been adopted into Lane's lists: however, these lists do not include any lodges which had ceased to operate before the production of each list, and therefore are invariably missing lodges which would have been in existence prior to 1723, which simply ceased to operate by 1729. No minutes survive from any English accepted lodges in this period. In fact, just one source concerning the activities of a lodge during this period exists: William Stukeley's diaries record a small number of events connected to his involvement in freemasonry between 1721 and 1729. For the moment it will be necessary to focus on just five entries made between 1721 and 1723.

The first of Stukeley's freemasonic entries records his initiation in January 1721: "I was made a freemason at the Salutation Tav., Tavistock Street, with Mr. Collins, Capt. Rowe who made the famous diving engine".[154] This very short entry actually provides some very useful information with regard to the location in which Stukeley's initiation took place. There is no other record of a lodge meeting taking place at Salutation Tavern: the 1723 list in the Grand Lodge minute book does not include such a lodge, neither does Lane's list. There are, therefore, only three possible scenarios which can explain Stukeley's lodge: firstly, that it was an occasional lodge, formed for the purpose of initiating the three men; secondly that it ceased operation not long after the initiation, and thereby failed to survive long enough to be granted a warrant by the Grand Lodge; or thirdly, that it continued after 1721 without ever affiliating with the Grand Lodge.

Of those three possibilities, Stukeley's later comments on the same incident seem at first reading to imply an occasional, rather than permanent lodge: "I was the first person made a free mason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony".[155] Stukeley's statement has caused some considerable difficulty for masonic historians: although the number of lodges in London in 1721 is not clear, it is clear that the Grand Feast was moved to a larger hall, in order to accommodate the greater demand amongst freemasons just two months after Stukeley's initiation. Such a move would seem to imply a significant number of new freemasons appearing in London during the previous year or so: it certainly seems implausible that this greater demand was purely the result of a large

[154] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p62.
[155] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p122.

number of old freemasons embracing the London Grand Lodge, rather than the more likely scenario of an increase in the popularity of freemasonry amongst London's male populace, and thus a spate of new initiations. Furthermore, although there is good reason to question a number of Anderson's statements concerning the early history of the Grand Lodge, it is indisputable that the 1721 Grand Feast did indeed take place at Stationers' Hall, as this fact is confirmed by another comment from Stukeley's diary,[156] and a brief article in *The Post Boy*.[157] It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that there had been an increase in the popularity of freemasonry during the previous year, as stated by Anderson.

To add to the difficulties with Stukeley's statement, it is well known that he became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1717, at the same time as the Duke of Montagu. Through his involvement with the Royal Society, Stukeley was well acquainted with a large number of masons including Desaguliers, Montagu, John Beal, Martin Folkes, and John Senex.[158] Although it is possible that some of these became masons after Stukeley, it is clear that at least Desaguliers, Montagu and Beal were involved with freemasonry prior to Stukeley's initiation: Desaguliers' involvement after 1719 is well recorded; while Montagu and Beal were elected Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master respectively in June 1721, and it would seem implausible for them to have been elected to those positions had they been involved in freemasonry for under six months. Through Stukeley's association with these three, and their connections to the Grand Lodge, it seems hard to believe that it was difficult to find sufficient members to initiate him.

Stukeley's statement has therefore received considerable attention, with a number of suggestions as to how it should be interpreted. Spurr suggested that the difficulty in finding enough brethren to conduct the ceremony is related to the recent introduction of the three degree system, and that there were not sufficient brethren who knew the operation of the new third degree.[159] However, Spurr, an active freemason himself, seems to be sticking to the party line of the United Grand Lodge of England, and accepting without question the idea that the degree system was changed swiftly in the early 1720s by Desaguliers and Anderson. As will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five, such an idea does not match the evidence available, with the third degree making a sporadic appearance from the late seventeenth century, which makes Spurr's conclusion somewhat dubious. Knoop and Jones have gone one

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[156] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Von I, p64.
[157] *Post Boy* (London, 24-27 June 1721).
[158] A list of 39 known masons with whom Stukeley was acquainted in 1721 was compiled by Michael Spurr, 'William Stukeley: Antiquarian and Freemason', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol 100, (1987), pp113-130.
[159] Spurr, 'William Stukeley', p120.

step further by suggesting that, although there were plenty of freemasons in London, the new Grand Lodge did not approve of the practice of initiation rituals.[160] Such a suggestion seems even more spurious, as there is no evidence to suggest a shunning of ritual by the early Grand Lodge, and, indeed, they were responsible for introduction of a new ritual for the constituting of a new lodge by 1723.[161]

As no satisfactory explanation has yet been provided for Stukeley's comments, it seems necessary to re-assess them in the context of freemasonry during the early Grand Lodge period. Stukeley's statement that he was the first person to be made a freemason for many years may well be accurate from his perspective, even if it is not a true state of affairs. Although Stukeley was friends with a number of high-profile freemasons, there is good reason to question whether it was any of those individuals who introduced him to freemasonry. If Desaguliers or Montagu had been responsible for Stukeley's introduction to the society, then it would seem reasonable to suppose that he would have joined the lodge with which they were associated, the one which met at the Rummer and Grapes. Similarly, if any other of Stukeley's high profile friends had introduced him to masonry in 1721, he would surely have been initiated by their lodge. However, his initiation took place at a lodge which is not mentioned in any other record, and which is not known to have involved any high-profile freemason other than Stukeley himself. There is no reason to suppose that any of those high-profile friends of Stukeley's were responsible for his introduction to freemasonry: prior to 1723, there was no significant effort by the Grand Lodge, or any other freemasonic body to advertise itself or seek large numbers of new recruits. Instead, it seems that a few individuals within freemasonry, such as Desaguliers, sought out those individuals who they felt would benefit the society, such as members of the nobility, and encouraged them to become masons. The growth of the number of freemasonic lodges, as detailed earlier, shows a slow growth between 1716 and March 1722, with the number of recognised lodges increasing from four to eight, with a more dramatic increase after the involvement of noble Grand Masters in 1722 to 1723, seeing a further forty four lodges being constituted in just one year. Even if Desaguliers and Stukeley discussed freemasonry, it seems clear that Desaguliers was not responsible for Stukeley's decision to become a mason.

Thus, when Stukeley was initiated as a freemason in January 1721 it may well have seemed, from his perspective, that he was the first to be made a freemason for many years: he had become a member of a society which made no attempt to advertise itself, unlike other

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[160] Douglas Knoop, *The Genesis of Speculative Masonry* (Frome 1941), p22.
[161] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), pp71-72. Although Anderson states that this is "according to the ancient Usages of Masons", there is no record of this ritual existing prior to 1722.

societies of which Stukeley was a member, such as the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries.

Stukeley's second statement, that it was difficult to find enough members to perform the ceremony, is clarified by a comment in an abstract of his life, which Stukeley wrote for Mr Masters of Benet College in the early 1750s: "His curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of masonry... when with great difficulty a number sufficient to be found in all London".[162] This again, could be seen as being true from Stukeley's perspective. As already discussed, there appears to have been no attempt to advertise freemasonry, or the Grand Lodge, prior to 1722. It is therefore quite likely that those freemasons around London did not advertise their freemasonic associations to their non-initiated friends, unless they intended to initiate them. As already discussed, it seems unlikely that Desaguliers, Beal, or Montagu encouraged Stukeley to become a freemason, and it seems quite possible that he did not know of their freemasonic associations. Stukeley would, as an avid scholar and antiquarian, have undoubtedly been aware of the existence of freemasonry through the comments made by Robert Plot, and it is possible that he was also aware of a brief comment made by John Aubrey in the manuscript of his *Natural History of Wiltshire* concerning freemasonry. Although Aubrey's manuscript was not published until long after Stukeley's decision to join freemasonry, the Royal Society made a copy of the manuscript in 1691 which included the note on freemasonry in the main text,[163] and would have been available to Stukeley, who became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1717.

Even if Stukeley was unaware of Aubrey's comment, it is certainly not inconceivable that he became aware of freemasonry without the input of Desaguliers, or any other particular individual. Stukeley may well have made the decision to join freemasonry as a result of his academic studies, or as a result of discussion with freemasons who were not associated with the young Grand Lodge, and not through direct communication with any of those who were involved in the Grand Lodge. Such a suggestion would seem to be borne out by the fact that Stukeley was initiated in a lodge which does not appear to have had any significant involvement in the early years of the London Grand Lodge until after Stukeley's initiation.

The continuation of Stukeley's statement has caused further confusion: "immediately after that [his initiation] it took a run, & ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members".[164] This has traditionally been interpreted as being a comment about freemasonry as a whole,

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[162] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p50.
[163] London, Royal Society, Misc. MS 92.
[164] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p122.

which has produced some confusion amongst masonic historians: after 1721, freemasonry rapidly gained in popularity, with over fifty lodges affiliated to the Grand Lodge by the end of 1723, and a further twenty five two years later. Some have suggested that Stukeley's comment may in fact be referring to the split between the Antients and Moderns. However, that split occurred in 1751, which hardly seems to fit the description of "immediately" after 1721. Furthermore, in Stukeley's comments in an abstract of his life, written just two years after that split, he states that "After this [his initiation] it became a public fashion not only spred over Brittain & Ireland but all Europe".[165]

Although Stukeley's lodge does, on the face of his original comment, appear to be an occasional lodge, the fact of his two contradictory statements concerning the popularity of freemasonry immediately after his initiation requires that to be re-assessed. Although Stukeley's statement that "it took a run and ran itself out of breath" has usually been seen as a reference to freemasonry as a whole, an interpretation which seems perfectly reasonable when the statement is taken in isolation, it is perfectly possible that he was in fact referring to the lodge which initiated him. If Stukeley, prior to his initiation, was unaware of the freemasonic affiliation of the likes of Desaguliers and Beal, then it is quite likely that he sought out the first lodge he could find, and sought initiation with that lodge. If that lodge was already struggling with members, as would seem likely from Stukeley's difficulty in finding enough freemasons to perform his initiation, then it is quite reasonable to suppose that the "it" referred to by Stukeley is not freemasonry, but rather the individual lodge. Certainly, it seems to have ceased operation by 1723, since there is no mention of it in the various lists of lodges which appeared after that date. However, if it was an occasional lodge, then Stukeley's comment could not have been a reference to that. It therefore seems that, barring the possibility that one of Stukeley's statements is of a fraudulent nature, there can be only one way to reconcile the two comments: Stukeley's Salutation Tavern lodge "took a run and ran itself out of breath", while freemasonry as a whole "became a public fashion". Thus, the only possible conclusion is that the Salutation Tavern lodge was a permanent, albeit short-lived, affair.

However, this raises the question of connections between lodges, individual freemasons, and the London Grand Lodge during this period. There is no indication that the Grand Lodge warranted any lodge prior to January 1721. Yet, there was clearly a lodge in existence, meeting at the Salutation Tavern, which was neither involved in the original meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1717, nor did it accept a warrant from the Grand Lodge at any point: it does

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[165] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p50.

not appear in any list of lodges, nor is there a record of such a lodge being warranted. Despite this, Stukeley's next entry concerning freemasonry is from 24 June 1721, just six months after his initiation, when he records that he attended a "dinner at Stationers Hall".[166] Stukeley goes on to detail some of the events of this dinner, listing five of those present including the Duke of Montagu, and John Theophilus Desaguliers; noting that "Grand Master Mr. Pain produc'd an old MS. of the Constitutions... 500 years old", that Payne then "read over a new sett of articles to be observ'd", and that the Duke of Montagu was elected Grand Master for the following year.[167] Stukeley is clearly referring to the Grand Feast of St. John the Baptist's day, 1721. However, Stukeley's comments on this gathering are as interesting for what they do not say, as what they do. Stukeley simply states "the Masons had a dinner at Stationers Hall": at no point does he refer to this meeting as the Grand Feast, nor does he use the term "Grand Lodge" at any point. If Anderson's statements concerning the original intentions of the Grand Lodge were accurate, then Stukeley's terminology would seem curious. In fact, Stukeley's lack of a mention of the term "Grand Lodge" would seem to suggest that at least some freemasons around London did not yet consider the organisers of the Grand Feast to be doing anything more than organising an annual gathering of Masons.

Perhaps even more interesting, is Stukeley's presence at the dinner. As already noted, Stukeley was initiated in a lodge for which there is no record of an affiliation with the Grand Lodge, and there is no suggestion that he had transferred to a different lodge in the following six months: and yet he is able to attend the Grand Feast. This gives us a particularly interesting insight into the interactions between masons, lodges and the Grand Lodge during this formative period. The London Grand Lodge did not see itself as a governing body for freemasonry, even as late as 1721, and masons connected to lodges who did not have an affiliation with the Grand Lodge were apparently welcome to attend the annual feast. It would seem that, even as late as 1721, far from being a governing body, the Grand Lodge was still simply concerned with organising an annual feast for the freemasons of London.

This interesting situation between lodges and the Grand Lodge is made even more interesting by Stukeley's entries for 1722. In December 1721, Stukeley records that Dr. Beal, Deputy Grand Master, constituted a new lodge at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand, and that Stukeley was chosen as Master of this new lodge. In May 1722, he goes on to record that he "Met Duke of Queensboro, Lord Dunbarton, Hinchinbroke &c. at Fount. Tav. Lodge to consider the Feast on St Johns".[168] This is a particularly interesting pair of entries, as there is no record

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[166] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p64.
[167] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p64.
[168] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p66.

of the Fountain Tavern lodge receiving a warrant from the Grand Lodge in December 1721, despite the fact that two other lodges are recorded to have received warrants earlier in 1721. A lodge meeting at the Fountain Tavern does appear in the 1723 list of lodges in the minute book of the Grand Lodge,[169] and according to the warrant dates given in the earliest engraved lists, this lodge received a warrant in May 1722,[170] although there is no record of where it was meeting when this warrant was granted.

It is unclear whether this is Stukeley's lodge: Stukeley himself does not appear in the list of names given for members of this lodge in 1723, yet his common-place book shows that he was actively and enthusiastically involved in freemasonry through to 1729, at which time he was still involved with a lodge which he had set up three years earlier when he moved to Grantham.[171] It is possible that he had moved to another lodge by 1723, or it is possible that this lodge is unconnected to the one founded by Stukeley in December 1721. There are, however, two possible clues. The first is in the fact that the Fountain Tavern Lodge warranted in May 1722 is recorded as meeting regularly on Wednesdays,[172] while the date Stukeley refers to, 25 May 1722, was a Friday, thereby suggesting the two lodges are not the same entity. The second clue is in another of Stukeley's diary entries, which states that, on 4 October 1723 (also a Friday), Stukeley read his discourse concerning the Dorchester amphitheatre "at the Lodg".[173] Although he does not mention the Fountain Tavern, he does not at any time since May 1722 suggest that he has changed lodge. It therefore seems most likely that two different lodges were meeting at the Fountain Tavern in 1723: Stukeley's, meeting regularly on Fridays, and one warranted by the Grand Lodge in May 1722, meeting on Wednesdays. Even if this is Stukeley's lodge, it is interesting to note that the members of the lodge were meeting with high profile masons to discuss the Grand Feast before it was granted a warrant by the Grand Lodge: in other words, it was involving itself directly in the main activity of the Grand Lodge without any warrant, or official recognition from them.

Such a fact can lead to only one conclusion: even as late as May 1722, the London Grand Lodge was still not acting as a governing body, and seemed unconcerned with the question of whether or not specific lodges had received a warrant in order for them to be involved with Grand Lodge activity. Although a handful of lodges did receive warrants prior to 1723, the main push for lodges to receive warrants seems to have occurred after the start of 1723, and it would therefore seem likely that those warrants issued prior to 1722 did not constitute an

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[169] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p5.
[170] Grand Lodge of England, *List of Regular Lodges*.
[171] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, p123.
[172] Grand Lodge of England, *List of Regular Lodges*.
[173] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p72,

authority to be represented at the Grand Lodge, but rather an acknowledgement by the Grand Lodge of existence: more an honorary status than an active requirement.

The modern perception of the nature and status of the Grand Lodge prior to 1723 has been coloured by an uncritical acceptance of Anderson's *Constitutions*. The result of this uncritical approach has been to present the history of the early years of Grand Lodge masonry as a confusing, and convoluted subject, fraught with difficult references which need ever more imaginative solutions to explain away the fact that they often conflict with what is thought to be the situation: i.e. a Grand Lodge which, from 1716 was determined to set itself up as a governing body for English freemasonry, with a noble brother at its head. However, if we acknowledge that such a view is based on unwarrantable preconceptions, and strip away those preconceptions, the picture presented is, in fact, considerably clearer.

As shown, using the term Grand Lodge during the period prior to 1722 is a misnomer: indeed, it is a phrase that appears nowhere in any known manuscript or printed document prior to 1723. What became the Grand Lodge was, in fact, much less ambitious in its initial phases. In 1716, it was decided that an annual feast would be held at which freemasons from all lodges could gather on a social basis. Officers, referred to as Grand Master and Grand Wardens would be elected as figureheads, responsible for organising the St John's Day dinner. By the end of 1720, this dinner was proving too popular, and a larger venue needed to be found: along with that, the organisation of the dinner became more complex, and Quarterly Communications began to make the task more manageable. Throughout this period, no warrants or constitutions were issued to new lodges because such administration was completely unnecessary to the task of the organisation. The dinners gave masons, either associated with lodges, or individuals unconnected to lodges, the chance to meet socially, and to form new lodges.

By 1722, not only did this organisation have a high-profile, noble Grand Master, but the number of masons was increasing rapidly, and there was, therefore, a significant increase in the number of lodges. Only at this point did it become necessary for the lodges to affiliate with what was rapidly turning into a Grand Lodge: an organisation for maintaining consistency between lodges, and the practice of freemasonry. Thus, in 1723, the lodges which were already in existence affiliated with the Grand Lodge in its new capacity, and accepted warrants, which now, rather than being simply honourable mentions, came with tangible voting rights.

From humble beginnings, the Grand Lodge gradually changed over the first few years of its existence, and only appeared in its full glory, as an organisation for the maintenance and administration of lodges in and around London and Westminster not significantly before the start of 1723. Despite the projection of the Grand Lodge's later success onto the early period of its existence, it is clearly inaccurate to think of it as a governing body in its earliest years. It is not incorrect to suggest that the Grand Lodge was formed in 1717, but it is a mistake to suggest that its role or intent in 1717 were the same as they were six years later.

Consolidation and growth 1723-1730

The years 1721-1723 mark a dramatic change in the history of freemasonry, in just about every possible way. During the eighteenth century prior to 1722, freemasonry had received only three mentions in printed works, the details of which have already been discussed. In addition to those three mentions, there is an undated work entitled *Love's Last Shift*, which the British Library have dated 1720. This work is a collection of songs and poems: although most of them make no mention of freemasonry, the collection has been given the subtitle of "The Mason Disappointed", and a satirical introduction suggests that the songs are about freemasonry.[174] However, most had been previously printed with no reference to freemasonry at all. The only song which makes reference to masonry is "A Song on The Free-Masons", which does not appear in print anywhere else prior to 1728, when it was published in a collection of poems, and attributed to a Mr Wilks.[175] However, the nature of this song is completely out of context for 1720: it makes reference to Lords and Dukes being freemasons, which seems anachronistic for that early date; and it includes a reference to drunken revelry, a common accusation against freemasonry in the late 1720s, but again somewhat anachronistic for 1720. It seems highly unlikely that this collection is in fact as early as 1720, and a date after 1725 would seem far more likely.

The eighteenth century prior to 1721 can therefore boast no more than three brief mentions of freemasonry in printed works, with only a handful of further mentions of English accepted freemasonry during the previous century, such as those by Aubrey and Plot, which have already been discussed. However, after 1721, it is a different story: within just two years, nine new works had appeared referring to freemasonry, including Anderson's *Constitutions*. By 1740, over fifty more works had appeared, including speeches given by freemasons on freemasonry, such as the 1727 publication of a speech given by Francis Drake to the Grand

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[174] Anon, *Love's Last Shift: or The Mason Disappointed* (London, 1720: attributed date by the British Library, but see comments in main text concerning this date).
[175] Anon, *Poems on Several Occasions by A Lady* (London, 1728), p23.

Lodge of York in December the previous year;[176] numerous poems and songs; satirical works, such as *The Freemasons; an Hudibrastick Poem*;[177] official works, including Anderson's *Constitutions* and a variety of engraved lists of lodges; and a number of accusations of freemasonic wrongdoing and exposures of ritual, most famous, although not the first, of which is Prichard's *Masonry Dissected.*[178]

In addition to these works, the first mention of freemasonry in a newspaper appears in June 1721, with a short report on the Grand Feast at Stationers' Hall, and the election of the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master.[179] No other newspaper report appeared until 1723, when two reports claimed to have uncovered the secrets of freemasonic ritual, and published exposures: the first in April;[180] the second in December.[181] After this, reports on freemasonic activity became more frequent. In February 1724, the *Evening Post* made a short report on the Quarterly Communication held on the nineteenth of that month,[182] while later that year the *Weekly Journal* made mention of freemasonry in a report on the formation of the rival organisation of Gormagons.[183] Over the next few years, announcements regarding freemasonic meetings became a common theme in London newspapers, with announcements most frequently (although not exclusively) relating to the activities of the Grand Lodges of London, York, and Ireland.

Alongside the new public awareness of freemasonry, 1722-1723 seems to have marked a distinct change in the attitude and activity of the London Grand Lodge. Prior to 1723, only three lodges had received a warrant from the Grand Lodge: by the end of the year, a further fifteen lodges had received warrants, with a further thirty one lodges appearing in the first official list produced by the Grand Lodge. In 1724 a further twelve lodges were constituted, including the first lodge not within a few miles of the centre of London, in Richmond, Surrey; and by 1730, over seventy lodges had been constituted. 1723 also marked the appearance of the Grand Lodge's first secretary, William Cowper, who was elected to the position at the Grand Feast in June 1723, along with the first official minutes of the organisation. There can be no doubt that 1723 marks the point at which the Grand Lodge began to formalise its own activities, and those of the freemasonic lodges around London. Furthermore, after 1723, the

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[176] Drake, *Speech Deliver'd to the Worshipful and Ancient Society.*
[177] Anon, *The Freemasons; An Hudibrastick Poem* (London, 1723).
[178] Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (London, 1730).
[179] *Post Boy* (London, 24-27 June 1721).
[180] *Flying Post* (London, Thursday, 11 April 1723), issue 4712.
[181] *Post Boy* (London, 26-28 December 1723).
[182] *Evening Post* (London, Thursday, 20 February 1724), issue 2274.
[183] *Weekly Journal; or Saturday's Post* (London, Saturday, 17 October 1724), issue 312.

Grand Lodge feasts began to be preceded by a Grand Procession of freemasons through London, in full freemasonic garb.

Freemasonry experienced a rapid change in the years 1722-1723: so much so that it must have seemed to the non-freemasonic populace of London that the organisation had suddenly appeared, as if from nowhere, in the space of twelve months. Indeed, such a perception is not necessarily incorrect, as the form of English accepted freemasonry which appeared in 1723 may have long roots into the mid seventeenth century, but had undergone such dramatic changes in its organisation and its approach to the non-masonic public, it can almost be seen as a different organisation entirely. The question that must be asked is why freemasonry, and in particular the London Grand Lodge, changed its approach so completely during such a short space of time.

It seems most likely that the change was simply a matter of necessity, brought about by the rapid increase in popularity during the early 1720s. During the early years of what became the Grand Lodge, freemasonry remained relatively small: an annual feast took place in a room which could house no more than fifty diners; and there is no reason to suppose that there were any more than a handful of lodges. However, by 1721 freemasonry was experiencing a dramatic upsurge in popularity: the election of the Duke of Montagu as Grand Master undoubtedly brought some prestige to the society, and those wishing to rub shoulders with influential politicians and wealthy potential sponsors would be encouraged to join by that simple fact.

In addition, Peter Clark has highlighted the gradual diminution of feast societies in London by 1714, with the disappearance of the St. Cecilia society and similar, smaller organisations which organised annual feasts, along with the removal of the county societies from the capital to more local meetings.[184] This left something of a gap in the market: a gap which freemasonry was one of the few societies to fill. Thus, those who had enjoyed their experiences in feasting societies could find a new home in freemasonry. Such a suggestion is not entirely without some circumstantial evidence to back it up. The most high profile feasting societies in the early eighteenth century were those connected with the putting on of public entertainments, particularly music, such as the Society of Gentlemen Lovers of Music.[185] By the mid 1720s freemasons, either individually or as lodges, were actively sponsoring and organising plays and musical performances. As early as 1723, Charles Johnson dedicated his comedy, *Love in a Forest*, "to the Worshipful Society of Free-Masons",

[184] Clark, *British Clubs*, p69.
[185] Clark, *British Clubs*, pp62-63.

the implication being that it had been sponsored by the society.[186] It would certainly seem that, by the mid 1720s, a large number of men involved in freemasonry also had an active interested in organising and sponsoring public entertainments.

From 1721 the popularity of freemasonry increased dramatically. By the end of 1723 there were over fifty lodges associated with the Grand Lodge, and well over seven hundred individuals: 731 different individuals are named in the 1723 lodge lists in the Grand Lodge minute book, with sixteen lodges not providing a list of members. It therefore seems likely that the number of individual freemasons associated with the Grand Lodge by the end of 1723 was well over eight hundred, and may have been approaching one thousand. With a society of such a size it seems inevitable that some efforts would have to be made to formalise the society, and this seems to have been the case with freemasonry.

Exactly how the decision to formalise came about is not recorded. However, it is clear that at some point during 1722 such a decision was made, and as a result, in 1723 the Grand Lodge appointed its first secretary, and began keeping minutes. It would seem that its first act was to make a comprehensive list of lodges associated with the Grand Lodge, and the membership of those lodges: the first twenty six pages of the first minute book are taken up with the lists created for that purpose. It is worth noting that a large number of the lodges from 1723 had ceased to operate by the time of the first official engraved list of lodges, which provided the first record of dates of constitution for the lodges: it is therefore not clear whether all of these fifty two lodges (barring the three founding lodges) received a warrant from the Grand Lodge prior to 1723, although it seems that the process of warranting lodges already associated with the Grand Lodge was an ongoing process, as at least two lodges included in the 1723 list, one meeting at the Old Devill Tavern in Temple Bar, and another meeting at The Blew [sic] Posts, Holborn, did not receive a warrant until March 1724.[187]

With this newly formalised structure, and a concerted effort to officially recognise lodges associated with the Grand Lodge through the issuing of warrants, the London Grand Lodge began the process of deciding exactly how to manage the burgeoning freemasonry of London. The first minutes, from the Grand Feast on 24 June 1723, show the Grand Lodge making the first steps to formalise its power. They record that the General Regulations recently printed in Anderson's *Constitutions* were discussed (although the vote to approve them was so delayed by the discussion that it did not take place), and, more importantly, it was agreed that "it is not

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[186] Charles Johnson, *Love in a Forest* (London, 1723), p. v-vii.
[187] Warrant dates from Lane, *Masonic Records*; and confirmed by Grand Lodge of England, *List of Regular Lodges*.

in the Power of any person or Body of men, to make any alteration or Innovation on the Body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the annual Grand Lodge".[188] This was followed at the Quarterly Communication on 25 November with the agreement that "no new lodge in or near London without it be regularly constituted be countenanced by the Grand Lodge Nor the Mast[ers] or Wardens admitted the Grand Lodge".[189] It seems clear that, by this point, the Grand Lodge was prepared to actively insist on official affiliation from lodges in order to secure voting rights, and rights to attend Grand Lodge meetings: something which seems to have been absent prior to this time.

Rules governing the administration of freemasonry continued to be passed during the next two years. In 1724 it was agreed that no freemason should be a member of more than one lodge; that masons could not visit other lodges unless vouched for by a member of that lodge; and that no member of an irregular lodge (i.e. one not warranted by the Grand Lodge) be allowed to join a regular lodge. In 1725 this was followed with a rule governing the making of new masons, stating that individual lodges had the right to make masons, but only with the agreement of the Master, Wardens, and majority of the lodge members. Further rules regarding voting rights at the Grand Lodge meetings were agreed. In 1723, only the current Grand Officers, along with the Masters of lodges attending the meeting had voting rights. In 1724, this was extended to include all previous Grand Masters, in 1725 to include all previous Deputy Grand Masters, and in 1727 to include all previous Grand Wardens.[190] These early attempts to regulate freemasonry amongst the lodges seem perfectly in keeping with the idea of a Grand Lodge which had only recently taken responsibility for governing freemasonry, and show an organisation endeavouring to consolidate its position amongst the lodges, perhaps in recognition of the large number of lodges which were now becoming involved.

Although as late as 1725 the Grand Lodge minutes imply that the Grand Lodge considered its jurisdiction to be only over the area of the Bills of Mortality, there appears to have been a gradual change in this attitude, starting a year earlier. In 1724, twelve lodges in nine cities outside of London received warrants from the London Grand Lodge.[191] The distribution of these lodges is somewhat peculiar. The majority were in the southern half of England, with Reading, Bristol, Bath, Norwich, Chichester, and Gosport represented; one lodge appears in Carmarthen, in southern Wales; but, strangely, four of the twelve lodges are from the Chester

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[188] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p67.
[189] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p71.
[190] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, pp73-93.
[191] Lane, *Masonic Records*, lists ten lodges. A further two, not mentioned by Lane, appear in the 1725 list at the front of the MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731: one in Reading, and another in Chester.

area (three in Chester itself, one a few miles south in Congleton). The fact that there are a number of lodges in Chester is not in itself a surprise, particularly considering the evidence of seventeenth-century initiations which, as discussed earlier, points to a number of Cheshire families, such as those of Henry Manwaring and Randall Holme, being involved in freemasonry. However, what is odd is the fact that these four lodges stand as the lone bastion of London Grand Lodge affiliation in the north of England, with the next most northerly lodge being that in Carmarthen, some 140 miles further south. The warranting of Country Lodges continued slowly prior to 1730, with only a further eleven lodges appearing on the Grand Lodge's books before the end of the decade. The geographic distribution remained largely southern, with new lodges in Richmond, Oxford, Canterbury, Lynn Regis (King's Lynn), and Tunbridge Wells; with a further four lodges appearing in the more northerly areas of Salford, Warwick, Nottingham and Lincoln. Of particular interest is the fact that during this period, only one lodge within seventy miles of York (at Scarborough) accepted a warrant from the London Grand Lodge, despite the fact that a number of other lodges apparently existed in York, although, as discussed earlier, it is possible that these were still occasional, rather than permanent institutions. This is of particular significance when looking at the rival York Grand Lodge, which was active at least as late as 1725, and possibly earlier: this will be looked at in detail shortly.

The exact process by which the London Grand Lodge began to spread its influence outside of London is not known. However, a few hints are given in the Grand Lodge minutes. In May 1727, the Grand Lodge recorded receiving a letter from the Provincial Grand Master and Officers of Chester, thanking William Cowper (then Deputy Grand Master) for his visitation to the Chester lodges. A month later, a similar letter is mentioned as having been received from the Provincial Grand Master of South Wales.[192] This second letter is of particular interest: although no further details of the content of the letter are mentioned, the very fact that there was a Provincial Grand Master of South Wales is significant. It seems perfectly reasonable for there to be a Provincial Grand Master of Chester, since there were at least four active lodges in the area. However, the only warranted lodge in South Wales was that at Carmarthen, a situation which continued unchanged as late as 1740, and yet by 1727 there was a Provincial Grand Master for the region affiliated with the Grand Lodge. This would seem to imply an active effort on behalf of the Grand Lodge to spread its influence into that area, and it seems perfectly reasonable to suggest that this desire covered at least the southern two-thirds of England, if not the whole country.

[192] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, pp93-95.

It appears that the Grand Lodge not only sought to warrant new lodges in England, but also in other areas of the world. The first such lodge was warranted in November 1728, and met in Bengal: although the warrant date given in all the engraved lists for the Bengal lodge is 1730, the Grand Lodge minute book records the warrant being given in 1728.[193] Three months later a lodge was warranted in Gibraltar, although it is thought this lodge had already been operating for at least a year.[194] A year later a lodge was warranted in Madrid. There is reason to suspect that these early examples of foreign lodges were a result of connections with individuals who were already involved with the Grand Lodge, rather than the Grand Lodge seeking to extend its own power across the world. The Bengal lodge was founded after George Pomfret, a freemason from London, moved to India and petitioned the Grand Lodge to allow him to warrant a lodge there. His wish was granted, and the Grand Master sent a deputation stating that he was happy to "Empower and Authorize our well beloved Brother Pomfret... that he do, in our place and stead, constitute a regular lodge, in due form at Fort William in Bengal".[195] It is also worth noting that the lodge in Bengal remained firmly the preserve of the ex-patriot British residents, with no native Indian being initiated into freemasonry until 1775. Even as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Indian freemasons remained a very small minority, even in Indian lodges.[196] The lodge in Madrid was quite clearly of English origin, being founded by the Duke of Wharton (previously Grand Master of the London Grand Lodge) in 1728. The Gibraltar lodge does not boast any direct individual linked with the Grand Lodge in its founding, but it is worthwhile noting that the lodge itself was founded by the officers and men of a British garrison.

Whether these first few foreign lodges encouraged the Grand Lodge to consider territory outside of the British Isles, or whether they were already actively seeking new lodges in foreign countries prior to 1730 is not known. However, in 1730, it seems clear that the Grand Lodge was actively seeking new lodges, at least within the British territories abroad: the minutes record that in June 1730, a deputation was sent by the Grand Lodge to the provinces of New York, New Jersey & Pennsylvania.[197] However, it is particularly curious that there is no record of any lodges in those areas being warranted by the Grand Lodge prior to 1757, when a lodge was warranted in New York. This is of particular interest, as it is well known that freemasonry was active in America, and in these particular areas of America, by 1730 at the latest: the constitution (i.e. the rules governing the lodge, not a warrant of constitution

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[193] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p116.
[194] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731 records a toast to the brethren of the Lodge of Gibraltar on 10 May 1727, p93.
[195] Deputation from Grand Master to George Pomfret, dated 6 February 1728/29.
[196] Confirmed by the Grand Lodge of India in private correspondence.
[197] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p146.

from the Grand Lodge) of St. John's Lodge in Philadelphia is recorded in a manuscript from 1727;[198] while in December 1730, Benjamin Franklin published a notice in the Pennsylvania Gazette stating that several lodges had recently been erected in the province.[199]

This brings up the question of the interaction between the Grand Lodge and various individual lodges prior to 1730. In order to tackle the question, it is necessary to divide the various lodges into three basic categories: London lodges, Country lodges, and foreign lodges. The foreign lodges seem to present the most difficult situation: clearly, with Provincial Grand Lodges set up in India and Gibraltar by 1730, and a specific deputation sent to the colonies in America, the London Grand Lodge was endeavouring to spread freemasonry (and, presumably, freemasonry as governed by the Grand Lodge) across the British provinces abroad. However, although there is, as discussed, plenty of evidence, at least in America, for a rapid spread of freemasonry in the late 1720s, there is a distinct lack of lodges accepting warrants from the Grand Lodge. By 1730, only three such lodges had accepted a warrant. The first American lodge to accept a warrant was that of Boston in 1733, some two years after a completely separate Grand Lodge had been set up by the freemasons of Pennsylvania. It would appear that by 1730, freemasonry was spreading rapidly throughout the British domains across the world. Whether this was due to the activities of the Grand Lodge in sending deputations and warranting lodges and Provincial Grand Lodges is not clear. However, it is clear that a large number of foreign lodges were not affiliating with the London Grand Lodge.

The London lodges, in contrast, seem to have rapidly accepted the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge in the mid 1720s. By 1725 almost fifty London lodges were involved in Grand Lodge activities. By 1730 this had risen to seventy five. While it is not impossible that lodges existed in London which did not recognise the Grand Lodge's rule, there is no evidence that this occurred in any significant numbers, and there is no known record of any specific London lodge after 1725 which was not affiliated to the Grand Lodge. Although the Grand Lodge minute book occasionally makes reference to an irregular lodge, or to freemasons making irregular initiations (i.e. lodges and initiations not approved of by the Grand Lodge), such comments are rare, with more frequent concerns being raised about the fact that Masters and Wardens were not wearing the appropriate masonic jewels when attending the Grand Lodge. Where it is noted that irregular meetings are taking place, there is simply a resolution passed to confirm the fact that any masons meeting irregularly will not be allowed to join, or visit, a

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[198] Julius F. Sachse, 'Beginnings of American Freemasonry', *The American Freemason* (June 1911). A version of this article is also available at http://www.pagrandlodge.org/mlam/boaf/index.html.
[199] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, (Pennsylvania, December 3 to December 8, 1730), No 108.

regular lodge or Grand Lodge without the leave of the Grand Lodge. Assuming that the lodges under Grand Lodge jurisdiction followed these rules (and there is no reason to doubt that they did), then this simple fact would have been incentive enough for the vast majority of masons to join regular lodges: the activities would have been largely the same in both regular and irregular lodges, but members of irregular lodges would not have access to the same connections, both with a rapidly growing governing body, and with the noble, and intellectual elites who were involved with Grand Lodge masonry, as those members of regular lodges. While it is clear from the Grand Lodge minutes that there were occasionally irregular meetings occurring around London, it seems that these were relatively rare occurrences, and there is no record at all from any of those irregular lodges themselves.

The Country lodges of England present something of a less clear picture. Throughout the South of England, the Grand Lodge was rapidly warranting new lodges. A glut of lodges in Chester, and a further handful around the Midlands and North of England were also warranted by the Grand Lodge. However, there are a number of lodges which are known to have existed which did not accept a warrant from the London Grand Lodge: those of Yorkshire appear generally to have affiliated with the Grand Lodge of York, details of which will be entered into shortly, while there is good reason to believe that a number of lodges existed independently: William Stukeley recorded in his common place book for June 1726 that he "retired to Grantham... Here I set up a lodg of freemasons, which lasted all the time I lived there".[200] There is no record of Stukeley's lodge ever having any contact with, let alone accepting a warrant from, any Grand Lodge, and it would appear that his lodge continued to operate for at least three years, from 1726 to 1729, with no interference from the Grand Lodge.

It is possible that Stukeley's own reluctance to continue his association with the Grand Lodge after his initial involvement in the early 1720s is a result of his personal dislike for other, high profile members. In his common place book, Stukeley records a scathing attack on Martin Folkes, in which he states of Folkes: "losing his teeth, he speaks so as not to be understood... He chuses the counsel and officers out of his junto of sycophants... In matters of religion an infidel and loud scoffer. Professes himself a good father to all monkeys, believes nothing of future state, of the scriptures, of revelation. He perverted the Duke of Montagu, Richmond, Ld Pembroke, & very many more of the nobility, who had an opinion of his understanding".[201] Of the four people mentioned by name, three were Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge: Montagu was Grand Master in 1721; while Richmond, and Folkes himself,

[200] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p123.
[201] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, pp99-100.

were Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master respectively in 1724. Stukeley seems to have remained on good terms with all three men: in 1747 he obtained the living of the rectory of St George The Martyr in Queen Square from the Duke of Montagu, and he makes occasional mention in his diaries of dining with Folkes, and of visiting St Pancras together to look at the remains of a Roman encampment there. All three are also mentioned by Stukeley as members of an Egyptian Society of which he was an early member.[202]

However, the irreligion Stukeley ascribed to the three men would have been a significant problem for him with regard to their involvement with freemasonry. Stukeley commented in an abstract of his life, that "his curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be the remains of the antients".[203] David Haycock has presented a convincing argument that Stukeley's "remains of the ancients" was a reference to his desire to work toward "recovering a scheme of the first, the antient, & patriarchal religion. A disquisition that must needs be of great service to the cause of christianity. Because christianity is but a republication of that religion; the Mosaic dispensation, as a vail, intervening".[204] Thus, Stukeley's decision to join freemasonry was in the hope that it contained something of the original patriarchal religion, a religion which Stukeley spent his entire life trying to rediscover. While Stukeley may have been able to overlook the irreligion of the likes of Folkes, Richmond and Montagu in order to further his career, the concept of such people being influential in an organisation with which Stukeley associated that knowledge must have seemed to Stukeley a betrayal of all the society stood for. It therefore seems highly likely that Stukeley considered the London Grand Lodge to be corrupted by the influence of Folkes, and as such he would have been likely to strive to keep his own freemasonic involvement untainted by association with the London Grand Lodge, and thereby the influence of Folkes.

Nonetheless, were it not for Stukeley's own brief comment, we would have no knowledge of the existence of the Grantham lodge, and we can therefore reasonably assume that there are an unknown number of lodges of which there is simply no historical record. It is therefore impossible to assess how far the influence of the Grand Lodge spread throughout the freemasons of England, although it seems reasonable to assume that, if one lodge could go unnoticed, many others could do likewise. It would therefore seem that the most likely scenario for Country lodges is that those who actively contacted the Grand Lodge were

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[202] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol III, p78; Vol I, p326.
[203] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p50.
[204] William Stukeley, Wellcome MS 4722, f.1., cited in David Boyd Haycock, *William Stukeley: Science, Religion and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2002), p178.

welcomed and granted a warrant, while those which, like Stukeley's Grantham lodge, preferred to remain independent simply continued to operate unhindered.

The Grand Lodge of York presents another difficult element in the history of 1720s freemasonry. If the history of the London Grand Lodge is unclear prior to 1723, the history of the Grand Lodge of York prior to 1725 is almost non existent. Like the London Grand Lodge, the Grand Lodge of York claimed ancient roots, dating their foundation to the tenth century. It is unclear exactly when the Grand Lodge of York's own version of history ceases to be mythological, and becomes historical. Unlike the London Grand Lodge, which grew as a gradual development from a meeting of a number of lodges, York seems to have developed a Grand Lodge from one individual lodge. There are records of freemasonic meetings in York as early as 1705, although it is unclear whether these relate to occasional meetings, or a permanent lodge. By 1712 it appears that there was a lodge meeting on a regular basis, and by the early 1720s it would appear to have taken on something of the role of a Grand Lodge, acting as a meeting point for several lodges around York.[205] However, the significant change came in 1725, when the body first began to refer to itself as "The Grand Lodge of All England at York", a title which it continued to profess until its dissolution in the wake of the Unlawful Societies Act of 1799, which gave a specific exemption to the Grand Lodge of England (designated as the Grand Lodge meeting at Free Masons' Hall in London), the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and their subordinate lodges. It should be noted that the modern institution using the name "Grand Lodge of All England at York", while claiming an historical connection with the eighteenth-century institution, was founded only in 2005, and while it may base its activities on the documentation of the original body, it has no direct link.

The reason for the York Grand Lodge's adoption of the title "of All England" would seem to be the result of the newly spreading jurisdiction of the London Grand Lodge across England, particularly in the more northern areas. York steadfastly maintained that it was the older Grand Lodge. Such was made clear in a speech given by the Junior Grand Warden, Francis Drake, to the Grand Lodge in 1726, published the following year in York, and, rather judiciously reprinted in London two years later. Drake states the case for the antiquity of freemasonry in York, before delivering the all-important blow: "This is sufficient to make us dispute the superiority with the Lodges at London: But as nought of that kind ought to be amongst so amicable a Fraternity, we are content that they enjoy the title of Grand Master of England, but the Totius Anglia we claim as our undoubted right".[206]

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[205] See p3 for discussion of the manuscripts concerning early eighteenth century freemasonry in York.
[206] Drake, *Speech Deliver'd to the Worshipful and Ancient Society.*

The York Grand Lodge's claims of superiority were also frequently published in the London newspapers, with carefully selected wording to highlight such claims. Each year, the election of the new Officers of the York Grand Lodge were published, following something of a similar pattern to that demonstrated in *Mist's Weekly Journal* for 6 July 1728: "From York. That on the 24th of last month, being the Feast of St. John The Baptist, a Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was held in this City; Sir William Milner, Bart., was chose Grand Master of All England... They observe, that the present Right Worshipful Grand Master is the 798th Successor to Edwin The Great".[207] It is noticeable that the reports of the annual election of the new Grand Master in York for the period 1725 to 1730 in London newspapers actually outnumber the reports of the annual feast and election of the London Grand Lodge. It seems that the Grand Lodge at York was determined to highlight its superior claims to antiquity and to the right to jurisdiction over England in the heart of the London Grand Lodge's territory.

The approach to this situation by the London Grand Lodge is quite a contrast. While the York Grand Lodge seemed keen to promote itself, and highlight its claim to superiority, the London Grand Lodge simply ignored the claims from York. The York Grand Lodge receives not a single mention in the minutes of the English Grand Lodge prior to 1740. Similarly, the York Grand Lodge is not mentioned by any other manuscript or printed document to come out of either the London Grand Lodge itself, or those lodges or freemasons affiliated with the London Grand Lodge. It seems almost as though the London Grand Lodge were unaware of the existence of its rival, although, with such publicity for the York Grand Lodge in London, such ignorance would hardly be possible.

All that can be said with regard to the London Grand Lodge's attitude is that there seems to have been relatively little attempt to challenge the York Grand Lodge on its home turf. The Scarborough lodge remained the only lodge within seventy miles of York to receive a warrant from the London Grand Lodge until a Halifax lodge was warranted in 1738. Although after that a few lodges in Yorkshire obtained London Grand Lodge warrants, it would be 1761 before a lodge in York itself accepted the jurisdiction of the London Grand Lodge: a move which William Preston described in 1788 as an "illegal extension of power, and violent encroachment on the privileges of antient masonry".[208] It should be noted that Preston was still antagonistic toward the London Grand Lodge, which had expelled him some years earlier over a dispute regarding the seniority of the London Grand Lodge over the Lodge of Antiquity (i.e. the Goose and Gridiron Lodge, which had been one of the originators of the London Grand Lodge), of which Preston was Master. As a result, Preston had formed a rival

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[207] *Mist's Weekly Journal* (London, Saturday 6 July 1728), Issue 168.
[208] William Preston, *Illustrations of Masonry* (London, 1788), p247.

'Grand Lodge South of the River Trent', which affiliated itself with the Grand Lodge of York. Although Preston was later reconciled with the London Grand Lodge, his comments cited above were written before the reconciliation occurred. Nonetheless, it would seem that as late as 1788 the Grand Lodge of York still considered itself the superior Grand Lodge.

Considering the lack of London Grand Lodge activity around Yorkshire, it would seem that Preston's view concerning the respective jurisdictions of the Grand Lodges of York and London prior to the breach of 1761 may be accurate: that the two lodges were aware of each other's existence, and existed in harmony, with the York Grand Lodge warranting and managing the lodges in and around Yorkshire, while maintaining a claim to be the Grand Lodge of All England; while the London Grand Lodge spread throughout the rest of England, but with a focus on the southern part of the country, and maintaining the less forceful name of Grand Lodge of England. There certainly seems nothing to suggest a contrary opinion. The publication of York Grand Lodge's claims in London newspapers, and in the publication of Drake's speech may initially appear to be antagonistic, but could equally be seen as simply efforts by the York Grand Lodge to remind the London Grand Lodge of its superior claim. However, regardless of those claims, the success of the London Grand Lodge far outstripped that of York, with the York Grand Lodge appearing to exert its influence over just Yorkshire, although, as there are no records for lodges warranted by the York Grand Lodge prior to 1762, such a claim is difficult to verify. Even if the London Grand Lodge silently accepted the claims of the York Grand Lodge, they were considerably more prolific in their spread across England.

The efforts of the York Grand Lodge to promote their superiority in London seem to have been largely a response to the dramatically increased public awareness of freemasonry which occurred after the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* in 1723. It would appear that the London Grand Lodge made a significant policy change around 1722 with regard to publicising itself, and freemasonry as a whole. J.M. Roberts claims that it is unclear whether the London Grand Lodge's decision to promote freemasonry in the public arena was a result of, or the cause of public criticism of the society, arguing that the first criticisms appeared at near enough the same time as the first official publication of the *Constitutions*.[209] However, considering that Anderson had been commissioned by the Grand Lodge to write the *Constitutions* at the start of 1722, and the first serious attack on freemasonry did not appear until late in 1723 with the publication of *The Free Masons; An Hudibrastick Poem*, it seems

[209] J.M. Roberts, *The Mythology of Secret Societies* (London, 1972), p60.

almost impossible to conclude that the new public face of freemasonry came about as a result of public criticism.

Regardless of this, the Grand Lodge seems to have made a concerted effort to publicise freemasonry after 1723, with Anderson's *Constitutions*, being just the first sign of a public profile. In June 1723 the Grand Feast began with a coach procession of "eminent brothers" through London, presumably dressed in their freemasonic regalia, as was expected of attendees at the Grand Feast.[210] This was just the first masonic procession to take place in London, with the procession becoming grander each year, until in the mid 1730s it not only included a large number of coaches, and freemasons dressed in full masonic regalia, but was accompanied by "hautboys, trumpets, french horns, and kettle drums".[211] The processions, along with the activities of freemasonry also began to be reported in London newspapers from 1724, and further works by freemasons began to appear in print, such as the speech of Francis Drake referred to earlier, various freemasonic songs and poems, freemasonic "pocket companions" and diaries, and engraved lists of the lodges operating under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. In addition to this freemasons, either as individuals or as lodges, began to sponsor public entertainments, and such were often advertised in newspapers as being put on by the Freemasons: for example, in 1723, *Love in a Forest* was dedicated to its freemasonic sponsors,[212] while in 1730, a version of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was put on "at the particular desire of several persons of Quality of the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons".[213] The results of this promotion of freemasonry, and the criticisms and exposures it received will be looked at toward the end of this chapter.

One other development within freemasonry in the mid 1720s is worthy of note. In 1724 Anthony Sayer petitioned the London Grand Lodge to set up a charitable foundation for helping masons in financial distress.[214] The Grand Lodge agreed with the idea, and the Committee for Charity was set up. However, despite the Grand Lodge's attempts to encourage this endeavour, the individual lodges seemed less enthusiastic. In 1729, the Grand Lodge minutes record a greater effort to raise charitable contributions from the lodges, with little success: in November only five of the ninety or so lodges affiliated with the Grand Lodge contributed to the charity fund, with a further seventeen contributing in December. The Committee for charity would ultimately take on much more responsibility within freemasonry, with its function changing considerably in the 1730s. Unfortunately, the minutes of the

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[210] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p116.
[211] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, entry for 15 April 1736.
[212] *Daily Post* (London, Wednesday, 23 January 1723), Issue 1036.
[213] *Daily Post* (London, Monday, 20 April 1730), Issue 3302.
[214] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p28.

Committee for Charity no longer exist, leaving us with no knowledge of what they actually did during the 1720s, beyond the knowledge that they existed, struggled to raise funds from lodges, and were there to be approached by brethren in straightened financial situations.

The period of 1723 to 1730 in the history of English freemasonry is one of rapid growth and change. The London Grand Lodge's decision to publicise itself in the early 1720s led to a dramatic increase in public awareness of the society both in London, and across the country. As a result of this, and of the fact that freemasonry was beginning to thoroughly embrace ideas from the most successful London clubs and societies (such as annual feasts, public entertainments, charitable foundations), the number of freemasons and of lodges rapidly increased, and by 1730 the Grand Lodge was the governing body for seventy five London lodges, twenty seven Country lodges, and three international lodges, which between them comprised well over two thousand individual freemasons.[215] For a society which had begun its meetings just over a decade earlier in a room which would struggle to house more than fifty members, with just four lodges, this can only be considered a dramatic growth, particularly when compared with the York Grand Lodge, which rarely managed to claim more than a dozen affiliated lodges throughout its existence. This success of the London Grand Lodge in the 1720s would continue throughout the 1730s, but events in that decade would begin the process whereby English freemasonry would split in half in the early 1750s, with accusations that the London Grand Lodge had made changes to freemasonry which took it away from its supposed ancient roots.

Further growth and changes, 1730-1740

In terms of the organisation and structure of freemasonry, the 1730s were not markedly different to the late 1720s. Although the early 1730s have often been cited as a point at which English freemasonry changed, this is more in terms of ritual than of organisational structure, and those changes will be discussed in chapter five. 1730, however, does mark an approximate point at which the organisational elements of the London Grand Lodge began to settle. After the spate of changes in the mid 1720s, necessary for the Grand Lodge to find its feet and to understand and consolidate its power, the 1730s mark a period of more gradual growth, and more limited change.

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[215] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731 ends with a list of 104 lodges from 1730. Of these lodges, 55 have membership lists, with a total of 1,411 names mentioned. With a further 49 lodges without members lists, a total figure of around 2,700 freemasons seems reasonable.

The spread of lodges continued during the 1730s, although not as rapidly as it had in the 1720s. In 1730 there were 104 active lodges warranted by the Grand Lodge, while in 1740 this had grown to 187. The geographical spread had, however, changed more dramatically. While in 1730, the majority of lodges were based in the southern half of England, by 1740 numerous lodges had been warranted in the north, including a number in Lancashire, Birmingham, Liverpool and Lincolnshire. Two lodges even came from the heartland of the York Grand Lodge: those in Scarborough and Halifax. Even the old Scottish-style operative lodge at Swalwell, just a few miles south of the Scottish Border, transferred to accepted freemasonry in the early 1730s, and accepted a warrant from the Grand Lodge in 1735. The London Grand Lodge had also spread further west, into Devon, with the first lodge in that county, in Exeter, receiving a warrant in 1732, and Cornwall following three years later when a Plymouth lodge received a warrant. With lodges spread from Cumbria to Cornwall, and from Kent to West Wales by the mid 1730s, the London Grand Lodge could truly claim to have spread throughout the whole of England. This is in stark contrast to the York "Grand Lodge of All England", which maintained a small, albeit loyal association with a number of lodges in York and the surrounding area, but seemingly none outside of the county of Yorkshire. Every major town had at least one masonic lodge affiliated to one of the two Grand Lodges by 1740, and many towns had more than one lodge.

In addition, the spread of freemasonry into British colonies around the world, and into foreign countries had gathered pace during the 1730s. By 1740 the London Grand Lodge had warranted lodges in Gibraltar, Spain, India (2 lodges), America (3 lodges from Boston to South Carolina), the West Indies (4 lodges), France (2 lodges), Germany, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and Switzerland; along with Provincial Grand Lodges in all of those areas, as well as Russia and Sweden. As with the early foreign lodges, many of these lodges were formed by ex-patriot English. Such is the case of the Paris lodge warranted in 1732, which had been founded in the mid 1720s by Charles Radclyffe, and was initially dominated by English and Scottish freemasons in exile after the failed rebellion of 1715. This lodge is of particular interest, as it shows not only a connection between English and Scottish freemasonry through its members, but also highlights the non-political nature of freemasonry: the fact that the Grand Lodge could warrant a lodge consisting mainly of Jacobite rebels in France without any implication of treason is of significance.

However, alongside these foreign lodges warranted by the Grand Lodge, were a lot more which remained outside of their jurisdiction. In the 1730s, freemasonry spread rapidly across Europe, with lodges existing in Stockholm, Tuscany, Vienna, Rome, Geneva, and St.

Petersburg, none of which accepted a warrant from the English Grand Lodge, or, for the most part, from any other governing body.[216]

With the growth and spread of freemasonry slowing to a more manageable pace in the 1730s, the changes in the organisational structure of the Grand Lodge followed suit. The minutes show that the main concerns of Grand Lodge activity changed after 1730. While in the 1720s, the Grand Lodge had been struggling to understand its own power, and deal with internal issues of irregular lodges and clandestine practices, the 1730s presented them with external issues, such as the publication of Prichard's exposure, which will be looked at in more detail shortly. The Grand Lodge still dealt with irregularities in the practice of freemasonry, but now, rather than trying to produce new rules, and fine-tune previous rules, the Grand Lodge was acting more as a court to decide disputes between freemasons. Thus when, in 1732, Brother Calcot criticised the Stewards of the Grand Feast, he was brought before the Grand Lodge and forced to apologise, avoiding a more severe punishment only due to the fact that he earned his income as Tyler to several lodges, and there was concern he would lose his living if he received an official censure.[217] Similarly, in 1735 some brethren of the King's Arms lodge objected that other members of their lodge had decided to move the lodge meetings to a different location, and had refused to hand over various lodge accoutrements. The Grand Lodge ordered that they should be "discountenanced by all the brotherhood" until they obeyed the committee and returned the lodge's property.[218]

One particular area in which the Grand Lodge continued to develop in the 1730s was the administration of the charity fund. Although the Grand Lodge (meeting at the annual feast and Quarterly Communications) and the Committee for Charity were theoretically separate bodies, the two in practice overlapped considerably in their duties. Although the minutes for the Committee for Charity no longer exist, the Grand Lodge minutes show numerous occasions on which petitions for charity from brethren were dealt with by the Grand Lodge. The Grand Lodge also discussed issues relating directly to charity, such as in 1732 when concerns were raised that people were becoming masons purely so that they could request charity: a rule was introduced that no mason could request charity from the Grand Lodge until they had been a mason for five years, and that anyone requesting charity privately from an individual freemason would be barred from consideration by the Committee for Charity permanently.[219]

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[216] Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, pp44-47.
[217] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, 8 June 1732 entry.
[218] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, 31 March 1735 entry.
[219] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, 8 June 1732 entry.

In 1733, the Grand Lodge decided that they had too much business to discuss in their Quarterly Communications, and that anything they could not find time to discuss in their regular meetings would be passed on to the Committee for Charity, regardless of whether it was related to charitable requests, or simply issues relating to the running of freemasonry. This decision, along with the missing minutes of the Committee for Charity, is of particular frustration for historians, as issues starting out in the Grand Lodge for discussion, were often then sent to the Committee for Charity, with the outcome not being recorded: thus, in 1739, there is a discussion concerning the making of masons in an irregular manner which is then deputised to the Committee for Charity. The following minutes record only that the rules decided by the Committee for Charity over the issue "be strictly put into execution", with no record at all of what those rules may have been.[220]

One particular entry of note in the minutes of the Grand Lodge comes from 1733. This entry discusses the setting up of a new British colony in Georgia, America, stating that the Trustees of the colony had "commissions under their common seal to collect the charity of this society towards enabling the Trustees to send distressed brethren to Georgia, where they may be comfortably provided for".[221] Clearly the Trustees succeeded in their attempts, as just two years later a lodge was warranted by the Grand Lodge in Savannah, Georgia. It is also worth noting that the lodge was founded by one of the Trustees, James Oglethorpe. While it would be inaccurate to suggest that Oglethorpe and his fellow Trustees were attempting to set up a colony heavily influenced by freemasonry, it can not be denied that his involvement with freemasonry encouraged Oglethorpe to seek freemasonic recruits to his new colony, and freemasonic charity to help with funding the venture.

Throughout the 1730s, at least in regard to the organisational structure of the Grand Lodge, there was little change. The necessary changes had occurred during the 1720s, and by 1730 the Grand Lodge had evolved into an organisation able to effectively manage the practice of freemasonry not only in London, but throughout England, and, to a lesser extent, across the world. However, the start of the 1730s also saw a rapid increase in suspicion from the general public toward, and accusations against freemasonry, which would eventually lead to the outlawing of freemasonic lodges in a number of European countries, along with a Papal Bull in 1738 condemning freemasonry.

Criticism, Exposures, Disputes and Persecution

[220] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, 30 June 1739 and 12 December 1739 entries.
[221] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, 13 December 1733 entry.

The new public face of freemasonry, highlighted by the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* in 1723 brought with it something of a backlash. It is, perhaps, inevitable that the uninitiated members of the public would find something suspicious in a society which maintains secret signs and words of recognition. Such seems to have been the case from the very earliest publications which made mention of freemasonry, such as Robert Plot's comments in *The Natural History of Staffordshire*, in which he criticises masons for taking secret oaths "that none know but themselves, which I have reason to suspect are... as bad as this History of the craft itself; than which there is nothing I ever met with more false of incoherent".[222]

The reasons behind the decision of the Grand Lodge to begin advertising freemasonry have not been recorded. However, there clearly was a push to publicise the organisation through the publication of books, public processions through London, sponsorship of public entertainment, and the publication of announcements in newspapers. What is clear is that this decision would lead to several significant changes within freemasonry over the following years, as a result both of the increased popularity of the society, and of the negative press received as a result of public interest aroused through the new level of public awareness.

Less than a year after the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions*, the first attack on freemasonry appeared in print. The anonymous *Hudibrastick Poem* paints a picture of freemasons with little moral fibre, implying that the initiations take the form of orgies, accusing them of sodomy and drunkenness. The poem does not have the tone of one which is intended to be taken as a serious profile of its subject by the reader, but, nonetheless, it marks one of the main themes of public criticism of freemasonry during the next two decades. Most of the criticism of freemasonry in this particular area seems to have appeared in satirical songs and poems, such as the 1728 *Song on the Free-Masons*: "Have gloves, a White Apron, get Drunk, and that's all".[223] Similarly, a collection of a variety of poems and songs which would seem to date from the late 1720s (although, as mentioned earlier, is dated by the British library as 1720) highlights such views of freemasonry. Although none of the poems (except the re-publication of Wilks' *Song*) make mention of freemasonry, the collection is prefaced by a satirical dedication to freemasonry, and the collection is named after the first poem, *Love's Last Shift*, and is given the subtitle "The Mason Disappointed". The poems themselves are filled with references to behaviour considered immoral such as womanising and drunkenness.[224]

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[222] Plot, *Natural History*, p316.
[223] Wilks, 'A Song on the Free-Masons', published in *Poems on Several Occasions by A Lady*, pp23-24.
[224] Anon, *Love's Last Shift*.

These forms of attack occur mostly in poems and songs, and it is clear, although not particularly surprising, that their subject matter had an impact on the public perception of freemasonry. In 1737, a serious article in the *London Magazine* concerning the lodge "lately set up... at Paris" makes the following statement: "the French Ministry are careful not to allow of any Customs being introduced that may tend to Debauch the morals of the people, and as this society seems greatly to promote Drinking and Tipling, at Taverns and Alehouses, an Edict... was immediately issued for suppressing it".[225]

These accusations are one of three styles of public attack on freemasonry, and, despite their apparent popularity, appear in only a relatively small number of sources compared with the others. The second form of criticism appears as a more sober form of ridicule (as opposed to the more entertaining kind found in poems and songs), in particular of the secrecy of freemasonry, but sometimes with regard to the mythical history presented by Anderson. An early comment appears in the 1724 work *A Seasonal Apology for Mr. Heidegger*: "the Free Masons pretend to a great Antiquity; but without any proof other than their honest word... [they claim] that their antiquity may be matchless, as their extravagance is boundless".[226] Such comments became more frequent, and more direct throughout the 1720s, exemplified by comments such as that by Moreton: "Some people indeed are so fond of Mysteries, they run down everything that is plain and intelligible; they love Darkness, Whispers, and Free-Masonry";[227] or a letter to the Daily Journal which refers to "Zealot Masons, who would persuade one there is something more than Jest in what they call Masonry".[228] However, these brief comments do not compare to what has become known in freemasonic circles as "The Briscoe Pamphlet". This anonymous pamphlet, printed in 1724 "for Sam Briscoe" (hence its name) contains almost fifty pages of satirical parody of the mythical history of freemasonry, the Charges, and secret signs.[229]

These criticisms of freemasonry seem to have been largely inconsequential to freemasonry itself during the 1720s and early 1730s, although, as will be discussed shortly, by the late 1730s they were being taken more seriously. A number of responses appeared which defended freemasonry, such as *The Free Masons Accusation and Defence*, in which the accusations levelled against freemasonry are put in a series of letters from a father to his son,

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[225] *London Magazine and Monthly Chronicler* (London, 1737), p167.
[226] Anon, *A Seasonal Apology For Mr. Heidegger* (London, 1724), p18.
[227] Andrew Moreton, *Second Thoughts are Best* (London, 1729), p. iv.
[228] *A Collection of Recipes and Letters Lately Inserted in the Daily Journal* (London, 1730), p24.
[229] Anon, *The Secret History of The Free-Masons* (London, 1724).

and the son responds with a defence of each of the accusations.[230] A number of other responses appeared throughout the 1720s and 1730s, all of which defend the morality and seriousness of freemasonry. It is of particular interest to note that, prior to 1740, there is no example of freemasonry being accused of inciting revolution, or of taking part in political conspiracies: an accusation which is the most prevalent in the twenty first century, and has been a constant accusation levied at freemasonry since the aftermath of the 1789 French revolution. This is particularly telling, since at least one lodge, in Paris, which later became the Grand Orient (the Grand Lodge of France), was formed by active Jacobite rebels who had fled England after the failure of the 1716 rebellion, and who continued to be active in that lodge into the 1740s, who, according to Mellor, used the mythical martyrdom of Hiram Abiff as a metaphor for the execution of Charles I.[231] Roberts has highlighted that accusations of freemasons inciting rebellion do not occur prior to the French Revolution of the late eighteenth century.[232]

However, far more serious as far as the London Grand Lodge was concerned were the exposures of freemasonic ritual. It would appear that the public of London took a great deal of interest in exactly what was contained in the secret rituals of freemasonry, and in the secret signs of recognition. As such a number of works started to appear which purported to be exposures of freemasonic ritual. Within just a few weeks of the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions*, the first exposure appeared in *The Flying Post*: a two page article detailing the catechism by which freemasons recognise each other,[233] followed in December the same year by a similar article in *The Post Boy*,[234] although the latter of these would appear to be an invention of the writer, rather than a genuine exposure, as shown by S. Brent Morris's comparison of this exposure to numerous manuscript versions of freemasonic catechism.[235]

Less than a year later the first example of an exposure to be published on its own (rather than in a newspaper) appeared. It was fairly short (only two pages long), and only a limited number of copies were printed. It purported to be from "a piece having been found in the custody of a free mason who died suddenly, it was thought fit to publish it... that the publick may at last have something Genuine concerning the Grand Mystery of Free Masons".[236] The details of this, and other exposures, will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five, but for

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[230] Anon, *The Free Masons Accusation and Defence* (London, 1726).
[231] Alec Mellor, *Our Separated Brethren, The Freemasons* (London, 1964), p100.
[232] Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, p61.
[233] *Flying Post* (London, Thursday, 11 April 1723), issue 4712.
[234] *Post Boy* (London, 26-28 December 1723).
[235] S. Brent Morris, 'The Post Boy Sham Exposure of 1723', *Freemasonry in Context: History, Ritual, Context*, eds. Art DeHoyos and S. Brent Morris (Oxford, 2004), pp119-146.
[236] Anon, *The Grand Mystery of Free Masons Discover'd* (London, 1724).

now it is sufficient to say that comparison with the manuscript versions of freemasonic ritual suggest that this early exposure does contain some degree of accuracy concerning freemasonic ritual, albeit that it is considerably shorter than most others.

These early exposures seem not to have caused any great concern for the Grand Lodge. This would seem to be at least partly due to the fact that the Grand Lodge was, at this time, still struggling to deal with the nature and level of its own influence over the London lodges. However, this would change in 1730, firstly with the publication of an exposure in *The Daily Journal* in August, and then Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* four months later.[237] Prichard's work proved to be so popular that it received a second print run before the end of the year was again reprinted in 1731 and 1737. Within twenty years of its first appearance it had been translated into German, French and Dutch, and was frequently re-published in a variety of updated versions well into the nineteenth century. The immediate popularity of these two exposures caused the Grand Lodge some concern: the minutes for August 1730 record the proposal of "several rules... to be observed [by the lodges]... for their security against all open and secret enemies to the craft".[238] Unfortunately the details of those rules were not recorded. However, the following meeting, in December, recorded the decision that, in response to the publication of Prichard "in order to prevent the lodges being imposed upon by False brethren or imposters... that no person whatsoever should be admitted into Lodges unless some member of the lodge then present would vouch for such visiting Brothers being a regular Mason and the member's Name to be entred against the Visitors Name in the Lodge book".[239] Clearly Prichard's publication had led to concerns within the Grand Lodge that there was a very real threat of uninitiated imposters managing to attend lodge meetings.

This element of anti-freemasonic thought spread, with freemasonry, across Europe, and while it would be the late 1790s before any legal moves affected lodges in England, other European countries began to suppress freemasonry much earlier. In 1730, the States-General of Holland issued a condemnation of freemasonry, interestingly, four years before there is any record of a lodge existing in the country. However, a year after that lodge appeared, in 1735, Holland banned the meeting of freemasonic lodges, due to fears that they were politically motivated. In 1738 Sweden followed suit. France already had laws preventing assemblies of unauthorised associations and in 1737 the police records show that the authorities felt freemasonry breached these rules, with occasional fines against inn keepers who allowed masonic gatherings on their premises. Nonetheless, these appear to be largely isolated

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[237] *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), issue 2998; Prichard, *Masonry Dissected.*
[238] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p148.
[239] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p153.

incidents in France, with little evidence of a specific anti-masonic stance by the government during this time.[240]

Of more significance is the Papal Bull, *In Eminenti*, issued in 1738, which condemned freemasonry and excommunicated all active freemasons. The reasons given by Pope Clement XII are typical of the condemnations of freemasonry during the 1730s: considerations that freemasonry was depraved (although no details are given); the misuse of oaths of secrecy; and the fact that freemasons encouraged the mixing of those of different faiths.[241] As far as English freemasonry was concerned, this Bull had little effect: the most vocal proponents of freemasonry in England were either Protestant, or unorthodox, but certainly not Catholic, and it seems unlikely that Catholics in England formed anything more than a very small minority of freemasons. Roberts highlights that, regardless of this, the Catholic freemasons of Europe largely ignored the Bull anyway, with the Papal States being the only area in which it was actively enforced.[242]

None of these issues of censure in publications in Britain, or of limited secular prohibition on the continent, seem to have had any great impact on freemasonry in England. However, other problems were beginning to surface for the Grand Lodge in the 1730s: problems of discontent within the ranks of freemasonry itself. The details of the polite, but firm, opposition from the Grand Lodge of All England at York during the 1720s have already been discussed, and this opposition continued into the 1730s. However, by 1740, York was not the only alternative Grand Lodge to have formed. The Grand Lodge of Ireland appears to have been in existence by 1725, since the election of the Grand Master for that year is recorded in the Dublin Weekly Journal.[243] In 1731 York, London and Ireland were joined by a Grand Lodge in Pennsylvania, and in 1736 Scotland, the home from which freemasonry had originally come, finally joined in by setting up its own Grand Lodge. A further Grand Lodge appeared in France two years later. There seems to have been little, if any, conflict between these various lodges, each one claiming jurisdiction over a largely different area; and there are even instances of individuals serving as Grand Officers for different Grand Lodges, such as Viscount Kingston, who was Grand Master of both the London Grand Lodge, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland at different points during the 1720s.

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[240] Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, pp64-65.
[241] Pope Clement XII, *In Eminenti Apostolatus Specula* (Rome, 28 April 1738). An English translation is available on <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Clem12/c15inemengl.htm>, accessed on 16 February 2009.
[242] Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, p83.
[243] *Dublin Weekly Journal* (Dublin, 26 June 1725).

However, although these lodges seem to have been working happily alongside one another on the surface, it would appear that elements of discontent were beginning to seep into English freemasonry. As early as 1729, an advertisement in the Daily Post complained of "Innovations... lately introduced by the Doctor [Desaguliers] and some others of the Moderns".[244] This article stands out as a particularly early example of complaints laid against the Grand Lodge throughout the coming decades: that they had introduced elements into freemasonry which diverted it from its ancient roots. Such accusations would finally come to a head in 1751, when a group of Irish masons in London set up a rival 'Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, according to the Old Constitutions' (usually referred to as 'The Antients'), and rapidly gained support from a number of London lodges. What is more interesting is that they also gained support from a number of the Grand Lodges, with Pennsylvania and Ireland actively affiliating themselves to the Antients; and York, Scotland and France all making favourable (if less committal) noises toward their views.

The difficulties for the London Grand Lodge were already apparent in the late 1730s, with the minutes recording a number of complaints concerning the making of irregular masons, particularly in 1730 when the discussion concerning such irregular activity carried on over three meetings of the Grand Lodge and the Committee for Charity.[245] While it would be over a decade before the situation would reach a head, and a breakaway Grand Lodge be formed, the precursors of that discontent with London Grand Lodge freemasonry were clearly in place by 1740. The escalation of those disputes through the 1740s, and the formation of the Antients Grand Lodge is a complex subject, and one which falls outside the purpose of this research, beyond noting that the markers for such a breakaway were already apparent in 1740.

Conclusions

From a slow start at the beginning of the eighteenth century, freemasonry's main burst of growth in popularity occurred during the mid 1720s. A number of factors contributed to that growth, not least the formation of, and self publicity by, the London Grand Lodge. Although the London Grand Lodge did not start out with grand ambitions, by the mid 1720s, it was acting as a unifying body for the majority of lodges in England, and thereby providing not only a link between lodges, but a point of contact for individual freemasons. The underlying advantage of having such a body meant that when any individual lodge ceased to operate, there was an easy method for any remaining, enthusiastic members to find another lodge, and

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[244] *Daily Post* (London, 20 June 1729), Issue 3042.
[245] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, entries for 30 June 1739 and 12 December 1739.

maintain contact with other freemasons, thus helping to perpetuate the existence of freemasonry as a whole.

More importantly, by the mid 1720s freemasonry offered a wide range of attractions for potential members. While other societies tended to focus on one particular activity, freemasonry encompassed all the elements of the most popular activities offered by other groups. The most publicly recognised element of freemasonry was the annual feast: this feast started off simply as the annual meeting of the lodges, but rapidly grew to include grand processions through London which caught the public eye.[246] Alongside the feasts, the public also saw numerous advertisements for plays and concerts sponsored by the freemasons. In addition to this, the charitable aims of freemasonry after 1724 put them on a par with the numerous friendly societies, which collected money from members for dispersal to those members in financial difficulty. All in all, 1720s freemasonry offered the men of London a club which could not only rival the activities of most other social clubs and societies, but also gave members the opportunity to rub shoulders with influential nobles and gentry, and a comfortable talking shop for the intelligentsia which was free of religious or political antagonism.

As with other clubs and societies, large towns began to follow the lead of London, and freemasonic lodges meeting on a regular basis began to spread across the country, and internationally. What had begun the eighteenth century as an ephemeral concept, with English freemasons meeting infrequently, usually for the specific occasion of initiating new members, gradually developed into a series of lodges which met on a regular basis, and then, more rapidly during the 1720s, into a highly organised society with a central governing body and contacts throughout the known world. It is hardly surprising that freemasonry, more than any other society in early eighteenth-century London, proved to be a success.

[246] A number of the processions are detailed in the MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge. Reports are also found in a number of London newspapers.

Chapter 4: Background to freemasonic myth and ritual

As discussed in the previous chapter, the core of freemasonry during the first few decades of its English existence was concerned primarily with the passing on of secret signs of recognition to new initiates, with the intention that an initiated freemason could then prove his knowledge, and thereby his freemasonic affiliation, to other freemasons. Ultimately, the core of transmitting this information is bound up in a mythical version of ancient history, and the rituals used to convey that mythical history. Chapter five will therefore deal with the interpretations of ancient mythology which most affected freemasonic activity, with a specific look at the development of freemasonic ritual, symbolism, and the mythological basis behind those elements of the fraternity. However, before entering into that discussion it is necessary to give some background to the subject with a brief outline of the main elements of English thought concerning the ancient world, with particular reference to those mythologies which were vital in informing freemasonic ritual.

The most significant works of the early eighteenth century with regard to the ancient world were heavily influenced by those which had taken precedence in the previous two centuries. Camden's *Britannia* was still being revised and updated, with new editions edited by Edmund Gibson appearing in 1701and 1722, and a further edition edited by someone referred to only as W.O. in 1735.[247] The other main works, Thomas Cox's *Magna Britannia*,[248] and Nathaniel Salmon's *New Survey of England*[249] both drew heavily on the various updated editions of Camden, and while Salmon made a significant effort to correct what he saw as the errors of Camden, his work was nonetheless similar in many respects to Camden's. Alongside these are a significant number of local studies, usually focussing on a particular county, such as Sampson Erdeswicke's *Survey of Staffordshire*,[250] a particular town, such as Francis Drake's work on York,[251] or the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, such as John Ayliffe's *Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford.*[252] Although these works did occasionally delve into the mythology of the ancient world, this was usually only as a side issue in looking at the more practical aspects of ancient Britain, while more in depth looks at mythology were left to others.

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[247] William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1701, 1722 & 1735).
[248] Thomas Cox, *Magna Britannia Antiqua & Nova* (London, 1738).
[249] Nathaniel Salmon, *A New Survey of England* (London, 1731).
[250] Sampson Erdeswicke, *A Survey of Staffordshire* (London, 1717).
[251] Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or The History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736).
[252] John Ayliffe, *The Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford* (London, 1714).

Only a handful of early eighteenth-century works focussed on non-biblical mythologies. The first major work to take this theme appeared in 1718 as a chapter of John Pointer's *Miscellanea* entitled "Pagan Mythology".[253] This was something of a diversion from Pointer's more frequent interest in Roman Britain, but as chaplain of Merton College, Oxford, it is perhaps not surprising that he should argue that the mythologies of the ancient world had been "borrow'd from Scripture History",[254] a theme which dominates his work with an in depth look at a number of different non-biblical stories, showing how they mirror the stories of the bible.

A second work focussing on ancient non-biblical mythology appeared in 1727, and is of particular relevance to a study of freemasonic views, being written by the high profile freemason and Jacobite Andrew Michael "Chevalier" Ramsay. As an appendix to the *Travels of Cyrus*, Ramsay wrote *A Discourse upon the Theology and Mythology of the Ancients.*[255] Ramsay's involvement in the development of freemasonic ritual takes place mostly after 1740 and is therefore outside the main focus of this thesis. However, it is necessary to note that, as with Pointer, Ramsay was keen to show the similarities between ancient theology and mythology, and Christianity. In the introduction, he states that: "In the first I shall shew, that the Philosophers of all ages and all countries have had a notion of a Supreme Deity"; and "that there are traces of the principal doctrines of revealed Religion... to be found in the Mythology of all Nations".[256]

However, such a view was not the only one. In 1739, Antoine Banier's *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* was translated from its original French into English. Banier's view on ancient mythology is somewhat different to that prevalent amongst most British authors, and his first chapter, which acts as an introduction to the work, includes a drawn out argument disagreeing with the likes of Pointer and Ramsay, and condemning their suggestion that the mythologies of the ancient world had any connection to Christianity, claiming that such ideas are "certainly false when taken in general", and that the authors who attempt such a connection have "gone to an extreme", highlighting that it is "Dangerous... for a Person to allow himself to be dazzled by the first glimpses of Resemblance that strike the Sight".[257] However, Banier's view seems somewhat anomalous for the early eighteenth century, and it appears to

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[253] John Pointer, *Miscellanea in Usum Juventutis Academicae* (London, 1718), pp122-138.
[254] Pointer, *Miscellanea in Usum Juventutis*, p122.
[255] Andrew Michael Ramsay, *The Travels of Cyrus* (London, 1727).
[256] Andrew Michael Ramsay, *A Discourse upon the Theology and Mythology of the Ancients* (London, 1727), p2.
[257] Antoine Banier, *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (London, 1739), pp32-33.

be the more Christian-centric view of ancient mythology, as demonstrated by Pointer and Ramsay, that was the more popular.

While there were a limited number of works focussing on non-Christian mythologies, the mythologies of Christianity, and particularly those of the Old Testament, drew considerably more interest. A full review of views on Old Testament stories during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could form the basis for several theses on their own, and it would be futile to attempt a full discourse on the subject here. As such, the elements of biblical mythology which are of particular relevance to the development of freemasonic ritual and symbolism will be looked at in detail later in this chapter. However, before looking at the development of freemasonic understanding of the ancient world, it is necessary to look at some of the myths which have grown up around freemasonry itself, and in particular, the question of a Rosicrucian origin of the organisation.

The Rosicrucian question

Since the seventeenth century stories concerning the origins of freemasonry, and associations of freemasonry with other, usually disreputable or mythical organisations have frequently been written. As time has progressed the speculative associations applied to freemasonry have become ever more wild, culminating at the current time with works which have presented freemasonry as the guardians of ancient religious secrets, who are involved in worldwide political conspiracies.[258] While such associations are based largely on forged documentation and wild conclusions, they do fit into a long and ever growing history of portrayals of freemasonry in an unfavourable light, and associating the organisation with a deeply secretive past. A full review of such associations, fascinating as it would be, falls outside the aims of this thesis. However, the origins of at least some of these concepts lie in the period before 1740, and are therefore particularly relevant here.

The association of freemasonry with Rosicrucianism has a long and fascinating history. The earliest implication of such an association appeared in a poem by the Scots poet Henry Adamson in 1638: "For we be brethren of the Rosie Crosse: We have the Mason word and second sight".[259] While this poem does not directly mention freemasonry as an organisation there is a clear implication of association between the two. This implication was made explicit

[258] Numerous works with these themes have appeared, following the lead of Michael Baigent, Richard Leigh, and Henry Lincoln, *The Holy Blood and The Holy Grail* (London, 1982), and particularly popularised by the fictional work: Dan Brown, *The Da Vinci Code* (London, 2003).
[259] Henry Adamson, *The Muses Threnodie* (Perth, 1638).

in a satirical pamphlet of 1676, which has already been discussed briefly in chapter three, and which spoke of a meeting comprising members of "the Modern Green-ribbon'd Caball, together with the Ancient Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross; the Hermetick Adepti and the company of Accepted Masons".[260] While this pamphlet was clearly making a satirical comment concerning the secrecy of the various organisations involved, rather than suggesting a direct link between them, it nonetheless seems to fit in with a more generally held belief first implied by Adamson, and highlights a perceived similarity between freemasonry and Rosicrucianism.

These two seventeenth-century examples set the scene for the eighteenth century, which saw several more suggested connections between freemasonry and perceived Rosicrucian activities. In 1722 a work entitled *Long Livers*, which purported to reveal the "rare secret of Rejuvenesceny" of the famous thirteenth-century alchemist Arnoldus de Villa Nova was dedicated to the freemasons, stating that alchemical secrets "belong... more properly to you than any else".[261] A year later, the satirical introduction to *The Free Masons, an Hudibrastick Poem*, made a similar association referring to the "Chimerical Projects" of freemasonry.[262] In the same year, *The Sermon Taster* included a reference which connected freemasonry to a "Branch of the Occult Science";[263] while in 1724 a more direct reference to Rosicrucianism appeared in the exposure *The Secret History of the Free Masons* which referred to "the Rosy-Crucians and Adepts, Brothers of the same Fraternity, or Order" as the freemasons.[264] Clearly, by 1728 the association was well engrained in the consciousness of the literate public, as evidenced by Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* entry on "Rosycrucians" which stated that "Some, who are no friends of free masonry, make the present flourishing society of free masons a branch of Rosicrucians; or rather the Rosicrucians themselves under a new name, or relation".[265]

The association of freemasonry and Rosicrucianism continued throughout the eighteenth century. Knoop, Jones, and Hamer highlight a letter written in 1750 which states that "English freemasons have copied some ceremonies from Rosicrucians", along with the fact that the 1750s saw a number of new degrees appearing within freemasonry, including one with the

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[260] Quoted in Knoop, *Early Masonic Pamphlets*, p31.
[261] Eugenius Philalethes, *Long Livers* (London, 1722), pp3-4. Although the name Eugenius Philalethes was commonly used by the 17th century alchemist Thomas Vaughan as a pseudonym, it would appear that this work was actually written by Robert Samber, who used the pseudonym in honour of his predecessor's work on similar subjects.
[262] Anon, *The Free Masons; an Hudibrastick Poem*, p5.
[263] Anon, *The Sermon Taster: or, Church Rambler* (London, 1723), p4.
[264] *The Secret History of The Free-Masons*, p.iii.
[265] Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1728), Vol II, p1032.

name of "Rose Cross".[266] This perceived association within freemasonry itself was clarified further by Jean-Pierre Bayard who identified two different mid to late eighteenth-century degrees: the Knight of the Rose Croix, which first appeared in France and eventually became the eighteenth degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite; and the Golden and Rosy Cross degree which was practised mostly in central Europe under the Rectified Scottish Rite.[267] After this point freemasonry, or at least a large number of individual freemasons, seem to have embraced the idea of a Rosicrucian heritage within freemasonry, with significant associations being made by the prolific masonic writer Marconis de Negre,[268] who is believed to have co-founded the heavily Rosicrucian influenced quasi-freemasonic Rite of Memphis-Misraim in the 1830s, and the high-profile freemasonic scholar of Rosicrucianism and occultism A.E. Waite, who particularly promoted the association in his 1911 work *The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry*, in which he specifically argued that the English mystic and supporter of Rosicrucian thought, Robert Fludd, had introduced Rosicrucian ideas into freemasonry in the early seventeenth century.[269]

Meanwhile, outside of freemasonry, the associations were becoming ever more solid: in 1803, the German magistrate and historian Christophe Gottlieb von Murr argued that freemasonry and Rosicrucianism had split from each other in 1633, being the same body up to that point.[270] This was followed in 1804 when a German work by the philosopher J.G. Buhle claimed that freemasonry had grown out of the Rosicrucian brotherhood,[271] an argument which was repeated by Thomas de Quincey twenty years later with a conclusion that "the original Free-Masons were a society that arose out of the Rosicrucian mania, certainly within the thirteen years from 1633 to 1646, and probably between 1633 and 1640".[272]

These associations have continued into the twentieth and twenty first centuries, with the current existence of a number of organisations terming themselves "Rosicrucian", which accept members only if the individuals concerned are already freemasons, such as the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA), along with its Scottish and American cousins SRIS (Societas Rosicruciana in Scotia), and SRICF (Societas Rosicruciana in Civitatibus Foederatis) respectively.

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[266] Knoop, *Early Masonic Pamphlets*, p31.
[267] Jean-Pierre Bayard, *Les Rose-Croix* (Paris, 1986).
[268] Jacques Etienne Marconis de Negre, *A Brief History of Masonry* (Paris, 1849).
[269] Arthur Edward Waite, *The Secret Tradition in Freemasonry* (London, 1911).
[270] Christophe Gottlieb von Murr, *Uber den wahren Ursprung der Rosenkreuzer* (Nuremberg, 1803).
[271] J.G. Buhle, *Ueber den Ursprung und die vornehmsten Schick-sale der Orden der R.K. und Freymaurer* (Nuremberg, 1804).
[272] Thomas De Quincey, 'Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origins of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons', quoted in Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972), p209.

Meanwhile the world of academia has begun to investigate this Rosicrucian association with freemasonry, initially with the publication of a number of works by Frances Yates. Yates first alluded to such an association in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* and *The Art of Memory*, and then clarified and expanded upon the idea in *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment.*[273] In the last of those works Yates presented what, at the time, was the most thorough investigation of ideas and events surrounding the publication of the Rosicrucian manifestos, and included a chapter entitled "Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry". Rather than suggesting that freemasonry was born wholesale out of Rosicrucian thought, as suggested by the eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers, Yates highlighted a number of areas in which the concepts discussed in the two central Rosicrucian documents, *Fama Fraternitatis* and *Confessio Fraternitatis*, found a resonance within freemasonry. Her tentative conclusion that freemasonry was almost certainly connected with the Rosicrucian movement was tempered by her statement that it is clear that the two movements were not identical.[274]

Unfortunately, the second part of Yates' statement seems to be frequently ignored by those who have done further research into freemasonry and Rosicrucianism, with the idea that there is a clear connection now beginning to appear in academic works on the subject, most clearly by Tobias Churton. The title of Churton's 2002 work *The Golden Builders: Alchemists, Rosicrucians and the First Freemasons* is self-explanatory,[275] and the idea of such an association is expanded upon in his most recent work *Freemasonry: The Reality*, in which he argues strenuously for a Rosicrucian origin of freemasonry.[276] Churton has been followed by David Harrison, who has also accepted unquestioningly the association between freemasons and Rosicrucians, arguing that the connection is shown by the fact that both orders (apparently ignoring the fact that the Rosicrucian order was entirely mythical) were focussed on a holy building: Spiritus Sanctus for Rosicrucians; and Solomon's Temple for freemasons; along with the fact that both were interested in recovering ancient knowledge.[277] Such tenuous similarities hardly seem to produce a solid argument, and could apply to a large number of organisations throughout history.

Before delving into the details of the arguments concerning a freemasonic connection with Rosicrucianism, it seems necessary to investigate exactly what the term Rosicrucian means.

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[273] Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago, 1964); *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966); *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972).
[274] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p218.
[275] Tobias Churton, *The Golden Builders: Alchemists, Rosicrucians and the First Freemasons* (London, 2002).
[276] Churton, *Freemasonry, The Reality.*
[277] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p88.

As with any complex historical term, there are a number of varying possible definitions. However, those who discuss freemasonic associations with Rosicrucianism rarely make any attempt to include a specific definition of the term, preferring instead to use the term flexibly to cover an array of different concepts such as alchemy; ritual, and symbolic magic; the keeping of secrets; astrology; unorthodox religious beliefs and practices; the teachings of ancient mystery schools; cabbalistic concepts; hermetic philosophy; mysticism; etc. Such a loose non-definition of the term is unhelpful, and will invariably lead those who use it in such a way to the conclusion that not just freemasonry, but that any number of other societies had Rosicrucian connections. Yates is one of the few authors to attempt a more confined, and sensible definition of Rosicrucianism: for her, it is clearly defined as those philosophical ideas which were expressed in the two main Rosicrucian documents, *Fama Fraternitatis* and *Confessio Fraternitatis*, and, by extension, the practical application of those philosophical concepts. Yates is very clear that, in such a context, there is no evidence of the existence of a Rosicrucian Brotherhood as described by the documents, but that the documents themselves define a particular philosophical approach which is itself the only reasonable definition of Rosicrucianism. Thus, for Yates, Rosicrucianism is not an organisation, but rather a philosophical movement much like Renaissance or Enlightenment. Under such a definition it is, again, hard to see how any long lasting body, such as freemasonry, could fail to be influenced by significant philosophical trends, and thereby a conclusion that freemasonry drew on Rosicrucian thought seems inevitable. This, as Yates infers, is not to say that freemasonry is a Rosicrucian organisation, any more than it is an Enlightenment organisation, or a Renaissance organisation.[278]

This leaves the question of just how influential the philosophy of Rosicrucianism was on freemasonry, and, perhaps more significantly, whether the common ground between Rosicrucian philosophy and freemasonic practice is due to a direct influence, an indirect influence, or pure coincidence. In order to answer that question it seems necessary to look first at exactly what is contained in the two, all important, Rosicrucian documents, and then to see how this has been related to freemasonry by both modern academics such as Yates and Churton, and by those writers of the early eighteenth century who believed such an association existed.

The *Fama* and *Confessio*, the names by which the two Rosicrucian "manifesto" documents are commonly known, first appeared in the early seventeenth century. The exact date of their appearance is uncertain. The earliest printed edition of the *Fama* appeared in 1614, but to it is

[278] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp205-234.

appended a reply written by Adam Haselmeyer, which claims to have been written in 1612. Although the German amateur freemasonic historian Wilhelm Begemann claimed to have found an original printed version of this 1612 reply, no-one else has been able to trace a copy, and the earliest known version is that printed at the end of the 1614 version of the *Fama*, although Haslemeyer himself claimed to have seen a manuscript version of the *Fama* in 1610. The *Confessio* first appeared in printed form in 1615, and there is no reason to suppose that it existed in manuscript form significantly before that year. The exact route by which these documents came into England is unclear, but in 1652 Thomas Vaughan produced the first published English translation.[279]

The basic content of the documents purports to be the revelation of the existence of, and the confession of a secret society, or Rosicrucian Brotherhood, which had been in existence for a little over 100 years, and comprised eight individuals who would each, before their death, find and train his replacement in order to maintain a brotherhood of eight. The details in the documents concerning the pseudo-history of the Brotherhood are irrelevant to this thesis, except in that there is general agreement amongst academics that the story is fictional since certain details are included which do not match with known history, such as the curing of the Earl of Norfolk of leprosy: the title of Earl of Norfolk did not exist during the time of the supposed existence of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, and there is no recorded incident of leprosy in any of the Dukes of Norfolk, nor in any of their close family.[280] However, of more interest are the details of the philosophy which this mythical Brotherhood are claimed to have embraced.

The fundamental philosophy of the *Fama* and *Confessio* is an encouragement to the learned and wise to study nature. The *Confessio* in particular encourages such ideas, stating: "Yet to whom it is permitted that he may see, and for his instruction use, those great letters and characters which the Lord God hath written and imprinted in heaven and earth's edifice"; and, "These characters and letters, as God hath here and there incorporated them in the Holy Scriptures, the Bible, so hath he imprinted them most apparently into the wonderful creation of heaven and earth, yea in all beasts".[281] It goes on to encourage others to pursue the study of nature: "For as this is the whole sum and content of our rule, that every letter or character which is in the world ought to be learned and regarded will; so those are like into us, and are

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[279] All details concerning the *Fama* and *Confessio* are taken from Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp235-260. Yates provides a list of the various early publications of the documents, and a transcription (with minor corrective notes) of Vaughan's 1652 translations of the two documents.

[280] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, presents a well reasoned argument concerning the fictional nature of the history of the Rosicrucian Brotherhood, which is too long to repeat here, and irrelevant to the question of a Rosicrucian influence on freemasonry.

[281] *Confessio Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp255 & 257.

very near allied unto us, who do make the Holy Bible a rule of their life, and an aim and end of all their studies: yea let it be a compendium and content of the whole world".[282]

In addition to this, there is a strong theme of a desire for collaboration amongst the learned. The *Fama* highlights how the Arabians, from whom the mythical Christian Rosenkreutz supposedly learned his knowledge, were "of one opinion, hating all contentious writings", and the fact that European scholars could not embrace such an ideal was "a great shame unto us".[283]

Alongside these concepts is a highly religious element, not surprising for the early seventeenth century. The mythical brotherhood clearly claim to be Christian, seeking to obtain "perfect knowledge of... Jesus Christ".[284] In addition, the original brethren are claimed to have made the statement, "Ex Deo nascimur, in Jesu morimur, per spiritum sanctum reviviscimus",[285] while the brother claiming to write the *Fama* states that "we confess to have the knowledge of Jesus Christ... we use two Sacraments, as they are instituted with all forms and ceremonies of the first reformed Church".[286] Clearly, the writer of the Rosicrucian philosophy was keen to highlight the Christian nature of the works (and of the invented Rosicrucian brotherhood), albeit that he considered the Church to be corrupted, as demonstrated by his statement that "as yet the church was not cleansed".[287] However, the Christianity practiced by the supposed Rosicrucians was not that of the church, but rather based on the philosophy of "Adam after his fall hath received it, and as Moses and Solomon used it".[288] In other words, it was the original patriarchal religion: the same religion which, as discussed in the previous chapter, William Stukeley was so keen to rediscover. It was Stukeley's search for this religion which, as highlighted by Haycock, was almost certainly responsible for his decision to join freemasonry.[289]

Ultimately, the Rosicrucian texts show a belief that the study of nature, conducted by learned and wise men in collaboration with one another would eventually lead to not only a better

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[282] *Confessio Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p257.
[283] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicurcian Enlightenment*, p239.
[284] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p238.
[285] "We are born of God, we die in Jesus, we live again through the Holy Spirit", *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p248.
[286] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p249.
[287] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p243.
[288] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p249.
[289] Haycock, *William Stukeley*, p178.

understanding of God, but would also "renew and reduce all arts... to perfection",[290] thereby increasing human knowledge for the betterment of the world.

These concepts will be returned to shortly. However, before doing so, it seems necessary to deconstruct the arguments concerning a direct link between freemasonry and Rosicrucianism, to see whether the claims for such a link have any validity. Only once that question has been settled, will it be possible to look at the elements of Rosicrucianism which seem to find a mirror in early eighteenth-century freemasonic thought without any preconceptions concerning their origin.

There are a number of ways in which a possible link between freemasonry and Rosicrucianism has been highlighted in the past: however, they are all based on providing small amounts of additional evidence to support a theory which is already believed to be solid, rather than providing a base theory to which additional evidence might be added. As will be discussed, there are some elements of freemasonic thought which match with the Rosicrucian philosophy detailed above. In addition, the long history of a supposed association seems to have left the distinct impression of an undoubted association, despite the fact that no serious indication of how the two were believed to be connected was directly suggested at any point prior to the early nineteenth century with the suggestion from Christoph Gottlieb von Murr that the two had been the same body until a split occurred in 1633, by which time the connection had been solidly engrained in literature, and in the minds of the literate, for over 150 years.

Writing in 1824, Thomas De Quincey was the first to make a solid suggestion as to how Rosicrucian ideas had come into freemasonry. He argued that the seventeenth-century mystic Robert Fludd had brought Rosicrucianism to England, and transplanted it into the guilds of stonemasons, with freemasonry being the resultant hybrid.[291] De Quincey makes no attempt to back up this suggestion with any form of evidence, and the suggestion was left dormant until almost a century later when, in 1911, A.E. Waite became the first to try to present any sort of an argument as to how Fludd had made this transition. Waite's view is a little different from De Quincey's, in that he does not argue for a new body being created by Fludd's efforts, but rather a transformation of existing freemasonry through the influence of Fludd's Rosicrucian ideals. However, Waite's argument is astonishingly poor, and is centred around a hypothesis that as Fludd was known to have travelled in Germany during his youth and that he later

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[290] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p238.
[291] De Quincey, 'Historico-Critical Inquiry' *London Magazine* (1824). From the reprint in *Collected Writings*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1890), XIII, p426.

produced a defence of Rosicrucianism, there was a vague possibility that he might have been a member of the Rosicrucian brotherhood. In addition, Waite suggests, with no evidence, that Fludd might have been a freemason. Even Waite himself is forced to admit that "the present study is undertaken as a speculative excursion only, the consideration of a possible case, which is unlikely ever to emerge in the realm of certitude".[292] Waite would seem to have fallen foul of assuming that, because it was commonly believed freemasonry and Rosicrucianism were linked, such must be the case, and De Quincey's suggestion of Fludd as the individual responsible for the transmission of ideas gave Waite the only vaguely serious possibility of an explanation. Therefore, with Waite's unwavering belief that freemasonry and Rosicrucianism were ultimately the same thing, he had to find some explanation for Fludd's involvement in both. In fact, although Fludd supported the Rosicrucian philosophy, he was adamant that he was not himself a Rosicrucian, and that he had never met a Rosicrucian;[293] equally, there is no indication in any of Fludd's writings that he had even heard of freemasonry, let alone become a member.

Fludd is only the first of a number of individuals to be assumed to be a missing link between Rosicrucianism and freemasonry. The second such character is the infamous sixteenth-century advisor of Queen Elizabeth, John Dee. It seems almost inevitable that any suggestion of occult or magical activity within any post-sixteenth-century group is, at some point, going to be associated with John Dee. However, such a suggestion with regard to freemasonry is deeply flawed, not least because there is no reason to suppose that anything akin to accepted freemasonry existed during Dee's lifetime: while Scottish operative lodges occasionally initiated gentlemen who had given some service to the building industry, there is no record of anything approaching an accepted lodge anywhere until Elias Ashmole's initiation in 1646, almost four decades after Dee's death. There is also no reason to suppose that Dee was ever initiated into a Scottish operative lodge. Although Dee produced an English translation of Euclid (the founder of freemasonry in many of the Old Charges),[294] this was dedicated to the artisans of London, which would seem odd if at that point he had any associations with Scottish freemasonry; and Stevenson has highlighted that Dee's interest in architecture seems unrelated to any masonic way of thinking.[295]

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[292] Waite, *Secret Tradition*, p25.
[293] William H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London, 1988), p44.
[294] Stevenson, *Origins*, p107.
[295] Stevenson, *Origins*, p104.

Nonetheless, in 1972, Peter French suggested that Dee had been an influence on freemasonic ideas, and that it was curious that Dee had been left out of Anderson's *Constitutions*.[296]This encouraged Yates to delve deeper into the question of Dee's influence on freemasonry: she argues that the English translation of Euclid to which John Dee wrote a preface in 1570 would have been of significance to freemasonry, and that Anderson must have been aware of Dee's work as, according to Yates, Anderson seems "to be almost quoting" from Dee. As an example, she highlights how Anderson refers to Jesus as "the great Architect of the Church", while Dee refers to him as "our Heavenly Archemaster".[297] As Yates' only and, therefore presumably best example of Anderson borrowing from Dee, there is little to recommend the theory to serious consideration. Aside from the fact that the wording is completely different, the use of an architectural metaphor in reference to the founder of the Christian church is hardly surprising in works dealing with architecture, by men with Christian leanings. In fact, a close reading of Dee's introduction to Euclid alongside Anderson's *Constitutions* provides no significant instances of similarity beyond what would usually be expected in two works dealing with fundamentally the same subject, and certainly nothing that appears to be a direct quote.[298]

Yates further backs up her argument by the suggestion that the freemasons must have been aware of Dee's preface, as the translation and publication of Euclid in 1570 was "surely a most memorable monument to the sacred art of geometry".[299] Whether or not this is true seems largely irrelevant. Anderson's first version of *The Constitutions* makes just two references to Vitruvius, and three to Euclid: of those five mentions, two appear in footnotes, and two in songs at the end of the work: only one reference to Euclid appears in the main text, and that is brief. At no point is any particular translation of either Vitruvius or Euclid mentioned, nor is any work on architecture beyond the classical period (although some respected architects, such as Inigo Jones, are mentioned). It would therefore be particularly surprising if Dee had received a particular mention, and his absence from Anderson's *Constitutions* should not come as any surprise. Yates' conclusion that Dee was "deliberately left out of official masonic history"[300] appears to be somewhat wide of the mark.

Having dealt with the more fanciful theories concerning the possible Rosicrucian influence of particular individuals on freemasonry, it is now necessary to look at those which do seem to

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[296] Peter French, *John Dee: The World of An Elizabethan Magus* (New York, 1972), p161.
[297] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p214.
[298] John Dee, 'Preface', *Euclid* (London, 1570), compared to James Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723 & 1738).
[299] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p214.
[300] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p214-215.

present, at least on first reading, a sensible approach to the question. However, before doing so, it is necessary to highlight another element of the Rosicrucian manifestos, that of alchemy. The *Confessio* in particular highlights the alchemical element of the Rosicrucian philosophy, in making a complaint against "false Alchemists" misusing the Holy Trinity, and using it to "cozen the simple of their money".[301] It then goes on to complain of those who "are blinded with the glittering of gold", who will never be able to partake of the "medicine... which might fully cure all diseases.[302] While the former reference is fairly obviously associated with alchemy, the second requires some explanation. Seventeenth-century alchemists had three main aims: the transition of base metals into gold; the production of the Elixir of Life (a cure-all medicine); and the creation of the Philosopher's Stone, which was believed to give eternal life to its creator.[303] The complaint against those blinded by the glittering of gold would seem to be a reference to those alchemists who have become obsessed with the first of those three goals, to the exclusion of the second and third. Rosicrucian philosophy, with its desire to investigate the natural world, seems to have felt that such a focus was a debasement of the true purpose of alchemy: to find the Elixir of Life and the Philosopher's Stone.

The idea of alchemy at the root of Rosicrucian thought is also found in the document often thought of as the third member of the Rosicrucian Manifesto Family: *The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz.*[304] This work was purportedly written in 1459 by the founder of the mythical Rosicrucian brotherhood, but actually first appeared in 1616, just two years after the first of the manifesto documents. Its authorship is somewhat disputed: although Johann Valentin Andreae claimed, some years after publication, to have been the author, Adam MacLean has argued against that idea due to Andreae's Lutheran orthodoxy, which makes him an unlikely candidate to write a document which MacLean sees as filled with heretical ideas.[305] Regardless of the author, it has long been accepted that the work is an in-depth metaphor for the work of seventeenth-century alchemists in their quest for the Philosopher's Stone: MacLean has provided a thoroughly detailed description of this metaphor which, at its simplest, can be seen as the seven days depicted in the story being a reference to the seven phases of the alchemical process by which the Philosopher's Stone was thought to be attained: Calcination; Coagulation; Conjunction; Dissolution; Distillation; Fermentation; and Separation.[306] While the details of MacLean's thorough argument are not particularly relevant

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[301] *Confessio Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p259.
[302] *Confessio Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p260.
[303] See, for example, Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1651).
[304] E. Foxcroft (trans.), *The Hermetick Romance, or The Chymical Wedding written in High Dutch by Christian Rosencreutz* (London, 1690).
[305] Adam MacLean, 'Introduction' in *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz* (Grand Rapids, 1991).
[306] MacLean, 'Commentary' in *Chemical Wedding.*

here, the general idea that Rosicrucianism had a strong element of alchemy at its roots is of significance.

As has already been highlighted in chapter three, the earliest known individuals to be initiated into freemasonry on English soil were Robert Moray, initiated in 1641, and Elias Ashmole, initiated five years later. It is often highlighted, both by masons themselves, such as Waite, and by academic historians, such as Churton, that both Ashmole and Moray were interested in occult subjects such as alchemy, mysticism, and, of course, Rosicrucianism.[307] The evidence concerning such interests has been well researched before, and does not need to be repeated here.[308] This shared interest, and the fact that both men are the subjects of the earliest recorded freemasonic initiations outside of Scotland, has led to an automatic assumption that the two facts must be connected, and the assumption that the simple fact that Ashmole and Moray were both freemasons clearly shows that freemasonry was, at core, part of Rosicrucian thought.

However, there is a problem with this suggestion. While Moray was initiated on English soil, he was a Scotsman being initiated into the Edinburgh Lodge: in many respects the location of this event is irrelevant, and his initiation should really be classified as simply one of a number of gentlemen initiated into Scottish operative lodges during the seventeenth century, albeit that the reason for his initiation would appear to be slightly different to the others initiated in similar circumstances.

Generally, gentlemen would be initiated into Scottish lodges as a result of services to the stonemasons' trade: something which would not seem true of Moray. However, David Stevenson has presented a solid argument that Moray, along with Alexander Hamilton, who was initiated at the same time, was initiated into the Edinburgh lodge as a political act. As leaders of the rebel army, Moray and Hamilton's initiations would appear to be the result of the lodge wishing to show by its actions affiliation to the covenanters. Stevenson has further argued that Moray and Hamilton were chosen over other rebel military leaders because of their interest in scientific and technical matters, which fitted well with the freemasonic concepts then paramount of architecture as the focal point of scientific interest.[309] Stevenson's further suggestion that Moray, as a scientist, would have been attracted to freemasonry's claim to possess ancient Egyptian knowledge is perhaps less solid, but nonetheless seems

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[307] Waite, *Secret Tradition*, p23; Churton, *Freemasonry, the Reality*, pp35-40.
[308] For example, Churton, *Golden Builders*, amongst numerous other works.
[309] David Stevenson, 'Masonry, Symbolism and Ethics in the life of Sir Robert Moray, FRS', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 114 (1984), pp405-431.

reasonable. In addition, the interest in Rosicrucianism that spread as a result of the publication of the *Fama* and *Confessio* in the early seventeenth century may well have resulted in those seeking Rosicrucianism to seek out, and seek initiation into, any secret or semi-secret societies which were believed to possess hidden knowledge. However, this does not mean that freemasonry, or any other organisation into which those interested in Rosicrucianism were initiated, were themselves of Rosicrucian origin, merely that they were perceived by outsiders to be so.

However, the fact that Moray's initiation seems to be fundamentally no different from the initiation of any other gentleman mason in Scotland implies that there can be no real significance to his interest in occult subjects with regard to freemasonry as a whole: the fact that Moray was initiated on English soil is simply a matter of convenience for the lodge, rather than anything significant in the history of freemasonry. It is also worth noting that it is invariably Moray's initiation which is referred to by those seeking a Rosicrucian root for freemasonry, while Hamilton, who was initiated at the same time, and about whom there is no record of an interest in anything associated with Rosicrucianism or alchemy, is frequently ignored.

Ashmole's initiation is a different matter. As has already been discussed, Ashmole's initiation is not only the first record of the initiation of an Englishman, it is also the first record of what appears to be English accepted freemasonry. Ashmole's desire to be initiated may well have been a result of his growing interest in astrology, which seems to have begun to develop in 1645, just a year before his initiation, and which would seem to have been the initial phase of what would become a life-long interest in magic, alchemy, and Rosicrucianism which developed over the next three or four years.[310] However, the fact that Ashmole may have sought initiation for this reason should not be taken as an indication that such a link exists: merely that a link was perceived to exist, as is very clear from Adamson's 1638 poem which linked the Mason Word with Rosicrucian secrecy.[311]

The only evidence we have of Ashmole's initiation comes from his own diaries, and there is no example outside of Scotland of anything akin to lodge minutes, or other internal freemasonic documents recording initiations. Furthermore, two of the three earliest records of initiations into English lodges come from Ashmole's diaries: his own initiation in 1646, and the one in 1682 in which he served as Master. The only other record prior to the eighteenth century is the list of twenty-six initiates produced by Randall Holme in 1676. As a result, we

[310] Hunter, 'Ashmole, Elias (1617–1692)'.
[311] Adamson, *Muses Threnodie*.

have a distinct lack of information concerning the reasons people chose to become freemasons, since neither Ashmole nor Holme provide such information.

Furthermore, we have a long list of others who were also freemasons: those who are recorded as having been present at Ashmole's initiation, those named by Randall Holme, and those involved in the initiation recorded by Ashmole in 1682. Of those names there is no evidence that any of the individuals other than Ashmole had any particular interest in Rosicrucianism, alchemy, astrology, or any other occult activity. It therefore seems curious that the interest of a very small minority of those known to be associated with freemasonry in the mid-seventeenth century should become so paramount in the historiographical approach to freemasonry since the early nineteenth century.

Ultimately, the modern belief that freemasonry has its roots in Rosicrucianism is a construct of the unquestioning repetition of an idea that has gradually grown in stature since its first suggestion in the mid-seventeenth century, along with circumstantial evidence concerning a handful of individuals who had associations (either real or imagined) with seventeenth-century freemasonry. The fact that such ideas were embraced by freemasonry itself in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and continued to be promoted by certain high-profile freemasons thereafter has fuelled this concept, but ultimately, the idea is based on supposition with little real evidence to support it. Therefore, it seems necessary to ask whether there is any significant cross-over between freemasonic ideas, and those from the Rosicrucian manifestos; and if such a cross-over exists, whether that can be put down to a direct link, or whether the reason is less solid.

There are a number of areas where freemasonic and Rosicrucian concepts seem to have some agreement. The idea of encouraging initiates to study nature, or, in modern terminology, achieve greater scientific understanding, which was discussed earlier in this chapter, appears in the fellow-craft degree of freemasonry.[312] However, we need to be careful with such a reference: while in more modern freemasonic ritual this is quite clearly a call to scientific understanding, early eighteenth-century freemasonry seems to have been less explicit: the same degree from 1730, as detailed by Prichard, simply states that "by Sciences are brought to light bodies of various kinds".[313] It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the more

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[312] Richard Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry* (Montana, undated, but c.2000. The original version was published in instalments in *The Republican* magazine between 8 July and 30 December 1825, and then in full book form in 1831), p47.
[313] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p22.

direct encouragement for scientific investigation appeared as a later addition to ritual, and can not be traced back even as far as the early eighteenth century.

Both Rosicrucianism and freemasonry seem to have references to a lost secret, and the rediscovery of that secret: in the Rosicrucian *Fama*, it is stated that, as the secrets held by Christian Rosenkreutz were handed down to the next generation, "we do not certainly know if these of the second row have been of the like wisdom as the first, and if they were admitted to all things".[314] In freemasonic ritual there is the statement that the Master Mason's Word was lost with the death of Hiram Abiff: however, again there has been a change in ritual since the early eighteenth century. In the 1730s it was stated that this secret had been "lost and is now found", while more modern freemasonic rituals have replaced this simply with "that which has been lost", and the Master Mason's Word with the less specific "secrets of a Master Mason".[315] The early eighteenth-century version of this ritual is therefore a less accurate match with the Rosicrucian concept than its nineteenth-century counterpart. Nonetheless, in the early eighteenth century, there was at least the suggestion of some knowledge having been lost through the death of the most significant figure in its mythical history, Hiram Abiff, which is matched with the Rosicrucian suggestion of the loss of knowledge through the death of Christian Rosenkreutz.

In addition to this, Hiram Abiff is described in masonic ritual, as he is in the bible, as "the son of a widow", while in the *Fama*, reference is made to Rosenkreutz's "deceased father".[316] However, such similarities seem a very poor basis on which to suggest a connection. Neither does there seem to be a great deal of merit in highlighting the similarity of the presumed history of Rosicrucian and freemasonic philosophy which are both traced back to Adam, Moses, and Solomon:[317] something which would seem inevitable for any society seeking to display its moral and religious roots during the seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. With the exception of the fact that Rosicrucianism claimed to have existed as a secret society harbouring ancient knowledge, while freemasonry claimed to exist as a society with ancient secrets, there is no evidence of the two realistically having anything in common: certainly not enough to warrant a claim of a shared heritage, particularly when considered against the backdrop of those elements which form significant parts of the Rosicrucian manifestos, but find no parallel at all in freemasonry.

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[314] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p240.
[315] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p26; Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, p61.
[316] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p242.
[317] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp249-250; compared with Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723).

According to the *Fama*, the mythical Rosicrucian brotherhood agreed to live by six principles: 1. that they should profess nothing other than to cure the sick, and to do so without expectation of remuneration; 2. that they would wear clothes in accordance with the custom of the area in which they lived; 3. that they should meet once each year on a particular day in a particular place or write the cause of their absence; 4. that each brother should find someone to train in order to replace them after their death; 5. that "the word C.R. should be their seal, mark, and character"; and 6. that they would remain secret for one hundred years.[318]

None of these principles finds any particular resonance within freemasonry: freemasons made no claims to be able to heal, or to do so for free; there were no regulations within freemasonry with regard to every-day clothing, although for ceremonies, processions, and other special occasions specific clothing was worn, which would seem in contrast to the Rosicrucian ideal; there is no compunction within freemasonry for each brother to find a successor; and freemasonry has never made an effort to keep its existence secret, only some aspects of its practice. It could potentially be argued that freemasons did agree to meet annually for the Grand Feast after 1716, but this is nothing unusual for societies immersed in the club culture of early eighteenth-century London, and does not indicate any special connection with Rosicrucianism; similarly, the use of a "seal, mark and character" could possibly be compared to the freemasonic use of signs of recognition, but the terms used in freemasonry (grip, word, and mark) bear little resemblance, and this again is something that seems far too general to suggest any form of realistic link.

In addition to this is the story of the finding of the tomb and body of Christian Rosenkreutz. Aside from the very basic concept of finding the body of the founder of the society, this story bears no relation to the freemasonic myths relating to death and the finding of a body. As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, there are two such myths in early eighteenth-century freemasonry: one of Noah, and one of Hiram Abiff, with the latter becoming the more common after the 1730s. Both stories are fundamentally the same: the body is found, the finders attempt to raise the body in various ways before finally succeeding in lifting it through a particular alignment of body parts. This concept of raising the body is completely absent from the Rosicrucian myth, where the tomb is simply re-sealed. As such it is hard to conclude that the respective deaths in freemasonic and Rosicrucian myth are anything beyond a coincidence.

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[318] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p243.

Furthermore, the description of the tomb, which seems to be of great significance in the *Fama*, appears nowhere in freemasonic myth, and is completely contrary to virtually all the symbolism found in early eighteenth-century freemasonry. The Rosicrucian tomb is seven sided, with a round altar in the centre covered with a brass plate. The ceiling and floor of the tomb are divided into triangles which meet at a point in the centre, and each of the seven wall panels is divided into ten, and engraved with "several figures and sentences".[319] None of this bears any similarity to the laying out of an early eighteenth-century lodge. At the start of the eighteenth century, the lodge was formed in a cross, with a candle in each of the North, South, and West arms, and a pedestal in the East arm, while the centre contained a diamond shaped altar signified by the letter "G".[320] Neither this, nor the more modern lodge formation, with the chequered black and white floor pattern, two pillars and a throne bear any resemblance to the Rosicrucian symbolism described in the tomb of Christian Rosenkreutz.

In fact, the only element which seems similar is that of the blazing star or sun in the centre which appeared in freemasonic lodges after c.1730.[321] This matches the description in the *Fama*: "although the sun never shined in this vault, nevertheless it was enlightened with another sun, which had learned this from the sun, and was situated in the upper part in the center of the ceiling".[322] However, considering the other symbolism which bears no resemblance to freemasonry, and the fact that the freemasonic blazing star does not appear emblematically until around 1730, the fact that it appears both in freemasonry and Rosicrucianism would seem far more likely to be coincidence than deliberate copying, or shared heritage.

It seems, then, that there is little to recommend the theory that freemasonry grew out of Rosicrucianism, or that there is any significant link between the two. A few similarities do appear: the blazing star in the freemasonic lodges after c.1730; the associations with encouraging members to undertake scientific investigations of the natural world; and some very dubious claims with regard to individuals who were interested in both freemasonry and Rosicrucianism. However, these similarities do not present any form of concerted argument, particularly when compared with the significant differences between the two. Furthermore, it is quite possible that these elements found their way into freemasonry through other influences, and although it can not be denied that some seventeenth-century freemasons

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[319] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p246.
[320] These details are taken from a drawing of the "old lodge" structure which appears in *A Dialogue Between Simon, A Town Mason, And Philip, A Travelling Mason* , London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, MS BE 206 DIA. This is a photocopy of a now lost manuscript which is undated, but probably dates c.1732: see appendix 3, p3. The drawing is reproduced in figure 2, p3.
[321] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.
[322] *Fama Fraternitatis*, printed in Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p246.

showed an active interest in Rosicrucian philosophy, it is equally true that these individuals formed a very small minority of known seventeenth-century freemasons, and would not seem to have been influential enough within freemasonry to bring about such changes. It seems that the idea of a Rosicrucian heritage for freemasonry is the creation of a popular and persistent myth from outside of freemasonry, which was eventually embraced by freemasonry itself. Unfortunately, the evidence for such a heritage simply does not exist, despite the best efforts of a number of freemasons and academics to convince us otherwise.

By the start of the eighteenth century, what Yates refers to as the "Rosicrucian furore"[323] of the seventeenth century was in the distant past. Occult ideas such as alchemy and Rosicrucianism were rapidly losing popularity as rationalist concepts, often classified as Enlightenment thinking, were rapidly gaining ground. Scientific thought, exemplified by Isaac Newton, was rapidly leaving behind the old concepts of astrology and alchemy, and turning instead to rational experimentation, and concepts which would be considered more in keeping with modern science.[324] This change was not just prevalent amongst the intellectual elite, but was mirrored by a drastic reduction of such ideas in public consciousness: it is particularly telling that the British Library houses a vast collection of manuscripts relating to alchemical experimentation and philosophy, but just seven of these date from the early eighteenth century, and are almost exclusively transcriptions of earlier works.[325]

The popularity of Rosicrucianism in the early eighteenth century does not show any marked difference from this trend. There are just a handful of printed works referring to the subject in any significant way, with only one going into the subject in any depth, and that being a reprint of a work from 1670.[326] Where Rosicrucians do appear it is usually a reference in passing, and usually an association with the practice of magic, alchemy, or some other occult activity, such as in Daniel Defoe's *System of Magick*, in which the Rosicrucians are referred to as "Masters of the Occult Sciences",[327] or Charles Leslie's reference to a Mr Asgil: "he is a Rosicrucian, and that all his study for several years has been to find out the Grand Elixir".[328]

Considering the lack of apparent interest in Rosicrucianism and associated subjects, it is perhaps surprising to find that of the fewer than thirty works published in the first four

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[323] Yates, *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p91.
[324] Betty Jo Dobbs-Teeter, *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy* (Cambridge, 1975).
[325] Most of the British Library's collections on alchemy are in the Sloane and Harley collections. The eighteenth century alchemical MS are Add 17964, 17966, 17967 (all of which are Arabic), and Sloane 3506, 3696, 3752, 3840.
[326] Abbe de Villars, *The Count de Gabalis*, Trans. Mr Bayle (London, 1714).
[327] Daniel Defoe, *A System of Magick* (London, 1728), 355.
[328] Charles Leslie, *A Postscript to Mr Higgins's Sermon* (London, 1707), p4.

decades of the eighteenth century which mention the topic, five draw on the popular association with freemasonry. However, it should be noted that these five works, which were detailed earlier in this chapter, were all written by non-freemasons, and the association is at no time accepted, recognised, or even commented on by anyone known to be a freemason, or by any freemasonic body. It would therefore appear that, prior to the 1740s, and possibly sometime later, the association of freemasonry and Rosicrucianism remained entirely the preserve of those commenting on freemasonry from outside the organisation.

The Templar myth

While many myths concerning the origins of freemasonry have appeared over the past three centuries, the suggestion of a Rosicrucian inheritance is the only one which has been given significant attention by academics. Looking at all of those other myths, which tend to remain in the domain of anti-masonic propaganda, conspiracy theories, or fiction, would seem unnecessary. However, one particular myth, which suggests that freemasonry has its origins amongst medieval crusaders, and in particular the Knights Templar, does warrant some brief discussion, if only due to the fact that the origin of that myth appears in the early eighteenth century.

The question of whether or not there is any truth in a connection between freemasonry and the Knights Templar has never been given any significant status by academics, simply due to the fact that such a link would require an organisation of monastic warriors to have gone underground for three centuries, during which time it left no trace of its existence, only to resurface as a group of practicing stonemasons. The suggestion is, at best, implausible, and does not therefore usually require any serious academic attention. However, the suggestion of such a connection has been in existence since the early eighteenth century, and was embraced by freemasonry itself during the earliest phase of its genesis, with a Knight Templar degree being one of the earliest to appear in the Scottish Rite in the 1750s (and possibly as early as the 1740s), which is believed to have been heavily influenced Andrew Michael Ramsay. It therefore seems worthwhile looking at how the myth first came about.

It is generally argued that the association between freemasonry and crusading Templars was created by Ramsay in his famous freemasonic oration, given at Paris in 1736, and printed two years later.[329] In that oration, Ramsay spoke of the history of freemasonry, drawing heavily on Anderson's *Constitutions*, but adding in other ideas of his own. One of those ideas was the

[329] For example, see Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, p37.

suggestion that crusaders had formed a brotherhood with a vow to "restore the Temple of the Christians in the Holy Land, and to employ themselves in bringing back their architecture to its first institution. They agreed upon several ancient signs and symbolic words... [which] were only communicated to those who promised solemnly... never to reveal them". Ramsay goes on to state that "some time afterwards our Order formed an intimate union with the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. From that time our Lodges took the name of Lodges of St John".[330]

However, Ramsay's oration is not the first time that an association between freemasons and crusaders appeared in print. In fact, the first such association appeared almost two decades earlier, in one of the rare examples of freemasonry being mentioned prior to 1721. In 1718, an anonymous work entitled *Interviews in the Realms of Death*, which framed itself as an interview between "Leopold the Roman Emperor and Lewis XIV, King of France", made reference to the "Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem" being given Malta in 1530 as a base. The work goes on to describe the knights as being "Gentlemen well skill'd in the Liberal Sciences and Arts, particularly in Geometry and Architecture", who "still sacredly observe their Charges and Regulations under their Grand Master, the same Title with the Provost of the most ancient Fraternity of Free Masons, who have also the same Guardian of St John".[331] While this does not specifically state that freemasonry is connected to the Knights of St John, the description of the Knights as skilled in geometry and architecture, along with the reference in the final sentence to freemasons makes the implication clear.

This was followed in 1724 by a comment in the anonymously published *Letter From the Grand Mistress of Female Free Masons*, which, within two decades of its publication had been attributed, probably inaccurately, to Jonathan Swift. While this pamphlet is a deeply satirical attack on freemasonry, and should not necessarily be taken as a statement of popular belief at the time, it clearly recognises the fact that freemasonry embraces a mythical history, and plays on that by incorporating crusaders into that history. The fictional Grand Mistress refers to the "Lodge of Solomon's Temple, afterwards called the Lodge of St John of Jerusalem... from whence came the famous old Scottish Lodge of Kiliwinin". She goes on to refer to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem as a "lodge" who "adorned the antient Jewish and Pagan Masonry with many Religious and Christian Rules".[332] It would seem that the author is parodying the mythical history of freemasonry presented by Anderson, rather than presenting

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[330] Ramsay's *Oration*, quoted in Roberts, *Mythology of Secret Societies*, p37.
[331] Anon, *Interviews in the Realms of Death* (London, 1718), p110.
[332] Anon, 'A Letter to The Grand Mistress of the Female Free-Masons', *Miscellanies By Dr Swift* (London, 1749), Vol XI, p179.

a specific claim made either by, or about, freemasons, but nonetheless, taken alongside the statement from 1718, it seems clear that Ramsay was not the first to suggest a crusading element for freemasonry's mythical past.

While Ramsay was the first to imply that freemasonry had an origin specifically from Templar Knights, it is important to note that he does not make that claim explicit: he simply refers to freemasonry being founded during the crusades by a group who later allied themselves with the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, a description which fits well with the Templars. Furthermore, the Templars had been abolished in the early years of the fourteenth century, while the Knights of St John provided a more realistic (albeit still imaginary) link between the early eighteenth century and the times of the crusades through their continued existence. Nonetheless, Ramsay was drawing from suggestions already made that there was a connection between the Knights of St John of Jerusalem and freemasonry. While the claim that Ramsay was significant in promoting the idea that freemasonry had origins amongst the Templars is valid, it seems that he was tapping into a strand of thought which already connected freemasonry and crusaders, and had existed for almost two decades, if not longer. As such, the origin of this myth should be placed at least nineteen years earlier than is generally recognised.

The Druid connection

The suggestion that freemasonry had its roots in ancient Druidry is another common theme of freemasonic mythical history since the latter part of the eighteenth century, and it has been suggested by David Haycock that this connection was already prevalent by the 1720s.[333] Considering Haycock's claim, it is necessary to investigate the origins of this element of mythical history.

Haycock highlights a comment from the 1724 *Letter From the Grand Mistress*, which states that King Fergus built Carrick-Fergus "as a Lodge for his College of Free Masons in those days call'd Druids", which is followed by a brief discussion of the similarities between freemasonry and the ancient priesthood.[334] In addition to this, he suggests that a comment from Anderson's *Constitutions* that "some think there are a few Remains of good masonry... as the Celtic Edifices, erected by the ancient Gauls, and the ancient Britains",[335] may refer to

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[333] Haycock, *William Stukeley*, pp176-178.
[334] 'Letter to The Grand Mistress', Vol XI, pp180-181.
[335] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p27.

William Stukeley, and therefore combined, these two comments suggest that Druidry and freemasonry were already intrinsically linked in the eyes of popular culture.[336]

However, there is reason to question Haycock's conclusion: the first forty years of the eighteenth century produced over 500 new printed works which mention Druidry alongside numerous re-prints of earlier works, and annotated translations of the classical works by the likes of Caesar and Pliny which made mention of the priesthood.[337] Alongside these, there were over sixty printed works, and numerous manuscripts relating to freemasonry. Of all of these, which include a number of attempts to chart the history of freemasonry from the beginning of the world, *A Letter From The Grand Mistress* is the only example of freemasonry and Druidry being explicitly linked. However, as a satirical pamphlet, this employs the Druids in a role which had already been well rehearsed throughout the early years of the eighteenth century: to ridicule the group with which they are being associated, which was particularly prevalent in Deist literature.

While the most famous example of such use, John Toland's letters concerning Druidry,[338] appeared in print two years after the anonymous pamphlet, this followed a number of similar statements which had appeared in Deist attacks on priestcraft during the previous twenty-five years. In 1706, Edmund Hickeringill, who frequently changed his religious affiliations, exemplified the Deist approach to Druids by stating that "Cunning Druides...first invented priest-craft, and gave it birth".[339] The same year, the anonymous *Rights of the Christian Church Asserted* highlighted the Druidic use of excommunication to govern through fear, compared this to the abuse of power by "Christian Druids",[340] and stated that Caesar's account of Druids shows that "they have been pretty well copied" by Christian clergy.[341] A further work of 1706, by Matthew Tindal, argued that the practice of excommunication had been "borrow'd... from the Heathens; and it was very well worth their while, since they saw what advantage their Clergy made of it, particularly the Druids".[342] In 1709, a marginal note in T. Gibson's poem *The Scourge of France* explaining the term "Priest-craft" states: "The

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[336] Haycock, *William Stukeley*, pp176-178.
[337] I have compiled a list of 533 newly published works which make mention of the Druids during the period 1701-1740. The list was compiled with the use of the British Library on-line catalogue (www.bl.uk), the Bodleian library on-line catalogue (http://library.ox.ac.uk/), and ECCO (http://find.galegroup.com/menu/commonmenu.do).
[338] John Toland, *A Collection of Several Pieces of Mr John Toland*, ed. Pierre Desmaizeaux (London, 1726). The section containing the letters is often referred to as John Toland's History of the Druids.
[339] Edmund Hickeringill, *Priest-Craft, it's Character and Consequences* (London, 1706), p9.
[340] Anon, *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted*, (London, 1706), Part I, p43.
[341] Anon, *Rights of the Christian Church*, Part I, p98.
[342] Matthew Tindal, *A Defence of The Christian Church* (London, 1706), p98.

Druids of old, and the Popish Priests of a latter date, the great enslavers of mankind",[343] while in 1724, a work discussing the history of Scotland compares the priesthood to "the modern Inquisitors in the Church of Rome".[344]

Thus, when the author of *A Letter From the Grand Mistress* completes his comments by stating that "Caesar's Description of the Druids of Gaul is as Exact a Picture of a Lodge of Free Masons as can possibly be Drawn",[345] it would seem more likely that this is a satirical comment concerning the common use of Druids in Deist literature rather than an indication of any commonly recognised connection between Druidry and freemasonry.

In addition to this, the comment in Anderson's *Constitutions* can be read in other ways: although there was a belief that monuments such as Stonehenge had been built by the Druids, it was equally believed by many that they had been built by the Romans, or Danes, as popularised by the works of Inigo Jones, and Walter Charleton respectively.[346] Anderson's "some think", which Haycock interprets as a direct reference to Stukeley, could equally be a reference to the ongoing debate concerning the origins of the megalithic monuments, and Anderson's desire not to leave out any monument which would show masonry in a good light. It is also worth noting that this comment is entirely absent from the revised, and considerably expanded edition of the *Constitutions* of 1738. In this new version, Stonehenge is directly named, and a brief repetition of the four main theories concerning its origin (adding Geoffrey of Monmouth's Merlin theory to that of Danes, Romans, and Celts, although Druids are not specifically named) is given before it is concluded that "the great Inigo Jones, and his Kinsman Mr John Web, have learnedly prov'd it to be a Roman Temple".[347] It seems clear that Anderson did not support the Druidic theory, and therefore saw no reason to include the Druids in his Masonic history of 1738. It would therefore seem odd that he would have felt it necessary to include them in such a cryptic way in his 1723 version.

It is, however, worth noting that in the next revised edition of the *Constitutions*, published in 1756, the Druids are finally mentioned, and it is stated that they "had many Uses of Masons amongst them".[348] It would therefore seem that the freemasonic attitude to the inclusion of Druidry in its mythical history had changed somewhat during the previous two decades.

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[343] T. Gibson, *Scipio Britannicus. The Scourge of France, an Heroic Poem* (London, 1709), p8.
[344] William Adams, *A Complete History of the Civil Wars in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1724), p145.
[345] Quoted in Haycock, *William Stukeley*, p177.
[346] Inigo Jones, *The Most Remarkable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly Called Stone-Heng, Restored*, ed. John Webb (London, 1655); Walter Charleton, *Chorea Gigantum* (London, 1663).
[347] Anderson, *Constitutions*, (1738), p60.
[348] James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Antient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons* (London, 1756), p72.

In fact, the earliest suggestions of such an association appeared just two years before the revised *Constitutions* appeared. In 1754, the poet Goronwy Owen stated that his decision to join a Freemasonic Lodge was based on his belief that Freemasonry was "a branch of the craft of my ancient ancestors, the Druids of old".[349] In the same year *The Pocket Companion and History of Free-masons* made reference to a Druidic heritage within freemasonry,[350] and this was repeated in William Auld's *Pocket Companion* of 1761,[351] and John Entick's version of 1765.[352] In 1766, John Cleland made an even more clear connection when he suggested that the etymology of the word "freemason" was derived from Druidry, and that freemasonic meetings were based on those of the Druids.[353] In the 1770s William Hutchinson's *Spirit of Freemasonry* connected the Druids and Freemasons via Phoenician traders,[354] and William Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* opens with a history of the Druids, highlighting parallels between Freemasonic and Druidic ritual.[355] By the early nineteenth century, this connection had even begun to infiltrate masonic ritual: by 1800 there was a "Druid Royal Arch" degree, as attested to by the existence of a Druid Royal Arch certificate and Jewel collar in Cole Court Masonic Hall.[356] Virtually nothing is known about this degree, and it may, or may not be the same as the "Royal Arch and Knights Templar Druids" degree briefly referred to in Richard Carlile's *Manual of Freemasonry*.[357]

It therefore seems clear that the association between freemasonry and Druidry was formed, and rapidly developed at some point between 1738 and 1754, and it is possible that the root of that association may be found in the publication of William Stukeley's *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, in 1740 and 1743 respectively.[358]

While Haycock's conclusions regarding a connection between Druidry and Freemasonry in early eighteenth-century public perception deserve a re-evaluation, his conclusions regarding just such a connection in the mind of Stukeley seem perfectly reasonable. Stukeley was

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[349] Letter from Goronwy Owen to William Morris dated 16 October 1754, cited in Knoop, *On The Connection*, p38.
[350] Anon, *The Pocket Companion and History of Free-Masons* (London, 1754), p67.
[351] William Auld, *The Free Masons Pocket Companion* (Edinburgh, 1761), p67.
[352] John Entick, *The Free Masons Pocket Companion* (Glasgow, 1765), p44.
[353] John Cleland, *The Way To Things by Words, and to Words by Things* (London, 1766), pp112 & 123.
[354] William Hutchinson, *Spirit of Freemasonry* (London, 1774).
[355] Preston, *Illustrations.*
[356] Gavin Domenic, 'Mistery of The Royal Arch', *The Square Magazine*, Vol 32 (September 2006). Transcript available at <http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/royal_arch_freemasonry.html>, accessed 27 April 2009.
[357] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, title page.
[358] William Stukeley, *Stonehenge, A Temple Restor'd to the British Druids* (London, 1740); *Abury* (London, 1743).

initiated as a Freemason in 1721. This was some seven years after he had first been encouraged to read about Druidry by Maurice Johnson,[359] and based on his choice of the Druidic nick-name of "Chyndonax"[360] just a year later, it is reasonable to conclude that he was already interested in Druidry. Haycock has gone into considerable detail regarding Stukeley's motives for joining Freemasonry, highlighting how Stukeley stated that he joined "suspecting it to be the remains of the famous mysterys of the antients", and that he believed these mysteries to be related to his investigations "toward recovering a scheme of the first, the antient, & patriarchal religion. A disquisition that must needs be of great service to the cause of christianity. because christianity is but a republication of that religion; the Mosaic dispensation, as a vail, intervening".[361] Here we can see two strands of Stukeley's belief coming together: firstly, the belief in a pure ancient religion which could be rediscovered, and may already (in Stukeley's mind) have been partly known to initiates of freemasonry; and secondly, the belief that this religion had been practiced by the Druids until it became "corrupted by incursions from the continent".[362]

Stukeley never explicitly made a link between Druidry and freemasonry, but the nature of his comments about Druidry in *Stonehenge* and *Abury* suggest that such a link was clear in his own mind. Firstly, Stukeley's comments concerning the origins and history of Druidry reflect the mythical history of freemasonry:[363] both highlight the significance of Enoch (or Enos, as Stukeley spells it), Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, and Solomon (albeit that, in Stukeley's scheme, the Druids are descended from Abraham, and the biblical characters after Abraham are cousins, rather than ancestors of the Druids). It is, perhaps, not surprising to find biblical elements being used to develop a history of any group which the author wishes to give a patriarchal heritage, and, similarly it is perhaps not surprising that both the freemasonic history, and the history of Druids presented by Stukeley highlight other ancient temples and buildings, such as the pyramids of Egypt, and Solomon's Temple: after all, both Stukeley and Anderson were seeking to create a heritage for groups of builders. Perhaps slightly more unexpected is the connection both draw to Moses' tabernacle: Anderson claimed that this "was framed by Geometry, a most beautiful piece of symmetrical Architecture", built by

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[359] Piggott, *William Stukeley* (1985), p35.
[360] Chyndonax was the name of the occupant of a tomb which had been unearthed in sixteenth century France and attributed to a Druid. See Jean Guenebauld, *Le Re'veil De Chyndonax Prince des Vacies Druydes Celtiques Diionois* (Dijon, 1621).
[361] Bod. MS Eng. misc. e. 667/5, f.33. and Wellcome MS 4722, both cited in Haycock, *William Stukeley*, p178. The latter is also cited in Haycock, 'Stukeley and the Mysteries', *Freemasonry Today*, Autumn 1998, Issue 06, p7.
[362] Stukeley, *Stonehenge*, p54.
[363] For the purposes of comparison, the mythical history of Freemasonry used is, unless stated otherwise, from Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), which is a greatly expanded version of that published in 1723.

Moses, who knew the secrets of masonry;[364] while Stukeley states that Stonehenge was aligned with the rising sun "in imitation of the Mosaic tabernacle".[365] It can not have escaped the attention of anyone informed about freemasonry, that the alignment of a temple to the sunrise was also an inherent part of Freemasonic ritual:

> Q. Where stands your master?
> A. In the East
> Q. Why so?
> A. As the sun rises in the East and opens the day, so the Master stands in the East... to open the Lodge.[366]

Stukeley's story of the origins of the Druids also shows some potential connection with Freemasonic myth: in both *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, Stukeley promotes the idea, originally suggested by Aylett Sammes,[367] that the Druids had originated as a colony of Phoenicians, who travelled from the East "even as Tyre was founded", and they were, according to Stukeley, led by the "Tyrian Hercules".[368] It is this association with Tyre which finds a resonance in freemasonic myth, which, at least after the mid 1720s includes a detailed story of the death of Hiram Abiff of Tyre, who is considered, along with King Solomon, to be the spiritual father of freemasonry. Therefore, although Stukeley's Druids and the mythological history of Freemasonry point back to a different Tyrian heritage, both share a common thread. Considering that this particular story of the origins of Druidry does not appear prior to Stukeley's works, it seems conceivable that he may have drawn from the Freemasonic myths of which he was all too well aware. In addition, Stukeley frequently references connections between Stonehenge, Avebury, and Solomon's Temple: in particular in terms of measurements.[369] Again, Solomon's Temple had become a central theme of freemasonic mythic history by the mid 1720s.[370]

There is one other area of Stukeley's work on Druids which seems peculiarly reminiscent of freemasonry. He states of Druids that the stones of Stonehenge and Avebury were "untouch'd by tool",[371] and he reasons that this is due to the fact that their "religion forbad them applying a tool".[372] This is echoed by the freemasonic story that Solomon's Temple had been built without the use of tools.

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[364] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p9.
[365] Stukeley, *Stonehenge*, p35.
[366] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p15.
[367] Aylett Sammes, *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, (London, 1676).
[368] Stukeley, *Stonehenge*, pp2 & 32.
[369] For instance see: Stukeley, *Abury*, pp38-39.
[370] See p3.
[371] Stukeley, *Abury*, pp21 & 39.
[372] Stukeley, *Abury*, p20.

Whether by design, or by accident, Stukeley had provided some tantalising hints at a possible connection between Druidry and freemasonry, and these hints had clearly begun to infiltrate the public perception within ten years. By the mid 1760s, it seems that every history of Freemasonry, including those commissioned by the London Grand Lodge, were not considered complete without a mention of the Druids. It seems reasonable to conclude that the popularity of Stukeley's work, which established a firm association between Druids and the ancient megalithic monuments of Britain, and led to a spiralling increase in the popularity of Druidry,[373] provided the impetus needed in order to develop a link between Druids and freemasons in the minds of the eighteenth-century public.

The mythical ancient history of freemasonry

Having dealt with the various myths concerning freemasonry itself, it now seems appropriate to turn to the mythical history which early eighteenth-century freemasonry embraced, as a precursor to investigating how those myths inspired freemasonic symbolism and ritual.

There are a number of useful sources which can be used to assess the mythical history of freemasonry as perceived during the early eighteenth century. These can be divided into three broad categories: official publications of freemasonic organisations intended for public consumption, such as Anderson's *Constitutions*; manuscripts left by freemasons not intended for sharing with the public, which include a number of masonic catechisms and details of masonic ritual; and the so called exposures of freemasonic ritual, which appeared in print during the 1720s and 1730s, which were not sanctioned by freemasonry, but nonetheless detail elements of freemasonic ritual and mythology.

Each of these broad groupings of documents presents its own problems for the historian. The official publications are obviously limited in the information shared: as these were intended to be published, and therefore accessible to the non-masonic public, anything which freemasonry wished to keep secret was omitted. Thus, while they present a very useful starting point for an investigation into freemasonic myth, it is necessary to be aware that they do not present the complete story. Nonetheless, we can be fairly confident that nothing in these official publications represents an inaccurate statement of freemasonic views: as a society which was wishing to publicise itself from the early 1720s and to welcome a vast influx of new members, there would seem little reason for the authors of these works to

[373] Ronald Hutton, *The Druids* (London, 2007), pp53-54.

present a false impression of freemasonic beliefs, and if they had, it would seem likely that at least some new initiates, disgruntled at being conned into joining the society, would have published denouncements of that history at some point had it been inaccurate.

The exposures, as documents printed without the official sanction of any masonic body, inevitably present a problem of reliability: there is limited evidence as to the accuracy of these exposures, and as such it is necessary to handle the information they contain carefully. In general, these exposures purport to be written by freemasons, but it is unclear as to how true those claims are in virtually all cases. Their accuracy can be assessed to a certain extent by comparison between the various exposures, and the manuscripts written by freemasons, usually for their personal use. Furthermore, in a few instances there is evidence from within the minutes of the London Grand Lodge which gives an indication of the accuracy of some exposures.[374] Nonetheless there is still cause to be careful with these exposures.

The manuscript documents, which generally appear to have been written for personal use by freemasons are, perhaps, the most useful when endeavouring to assess the mythology used by freemasonry, but these manuscripts frequently deal only with small sections of freemasonic lore: most commonly, the catechisms used by freemasons to recognise one another, often in order to recognise unknown freemasons visiting a lodge. In addition to this, the dating of these documents is rarely given in the document itself, and must be assessed from the clues within the documents, thus making it more difficult to understand the timing of various transitions within freemasonic ritual and mythology. The details of these manuscript catechisms, along with the exposures, will be looked at in greater detail in the discussion on the effects of freemasonic mythological history on ritual and symbolism in the next chapter.

Despite the various problems with the sources, between them they provide a solid base of information concerning the mythical history of freemasonry. Anderson's *Constitutions*, as the first, and the most complete official history from within freemasonry, seems the sensible place to start. Two versions of the *Constitutions* appeared before 1740: the first in 1723 and a second, updated and considerably enlarged edition in 1738. As far as the section dealing with ancient history is concerned, there appear to have been two main motives behind the revisions for the 1738 version. The first of these was that the 1723 version had detailed only a selection of relevant moments throughout history, for instance, leaping from Adam to Noah, and again from Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar with no significant detail of events in the intervening years. In the 1738 version Anderson has sought to correct this by providing complete details of how

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[374] See p3.

the knowledge of masonry was passed through each generation from Adam to the early eighteenth century. The second motive seems to have been to update the terminology used for significant individuals and key events in order to bring it in line with the terminology used by the London Grand Lodge in the 1730s: thus, the 1723 edition had mentioned Moses, Bezaleel and Aholiab in regard to the creation of the Tabernacle, giving only Moses a masonic title (Grand Master); by the 1738 edition, the people involved in building the Tabernacle are "Grand Master Moses, Joshuah his Deputy, and Aholiab and Bezaleel, Grand Wardens",[375] matching perfectly the set up of the London Grand Lodge with a Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master and two Grand Wardens. Similar instances of individuals gaining titles to match with contemporary Grand Lodge usage are found throughout the 1738 edition.

The first thing to note with regard to the history of freemasonry as presented in Anderson's *Constitutions*, is the heavy reliance on biblical history, with a line of freemasonic knowledge being drawn from Adam, through Noah, Abraham, Moses, and King Solomon before eventually being handed down to the Greeks via Pythagoras. Such a reliance is not in any way surprising for the early 1720s, when biblical history was generally considered to be a reliable account of ancient history barring, perhaps, the questioning of certain apparently irrational elements from the Deist quarter. The additional information included in the 1738 *Constitutions*, at least as far as ancient history goes, is almost exclusively drawn from the genealogies of the Old Testament, filling in the gaps between the more significant events highlighted in the 1723 version of the same work. Bearing this in mind, it seems reasonable to suppose that the elements of biblical history included in the 1723 version were those which were of greatest significance to freemasonry during the period.

It is equally unsurprising to find that the elements of biblical history which appear to be focal points of the mythical history of freemasonry are generally those biblical stories which are pivotal to the biblical chronology, or include elements that suggest the protagonists required a good understanding of geometry or architecture. The stories which are pivotal to biblical chronology are those without which any ancient history basing itself on biblical history would be incomplete, and thus the inclusion of elements from the stories of Adam and Abraham are in keeping with such a concept. It is worth noting, however, that even though these stories have very little in the way of geometry or architecture as elements, the freemasonic mythology provides such an element: according to Anderson, once "the Almighty Architect and Grand Master of the Universe [had] created all things very good and according to geometry", he created Adam, "ingraving on his heart the said noble science; which Adam

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[375] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p8; 1738, p8.

soon discover'd by surveying his Earthly Paradise".[376] Similarly, Abraham "learned geometry, and the Arts that are perform'd by it",[377] before being called by God to take up a nomadic life and live "not in Stone and Brick, but in tents erected also by geometry".[378] This inclusion of knowledge of geometry where there is no requirement for such in the biblical narrative seems perfectly in keeping with the nature of a society which had grown out of stonemasonry, whose practitioners require a practical knowledge of geometry, and does not seem in any way out of place for a society wishing to promote its own ancient roots. As such, there seems little need to go further into this particular element of freemasonic myth.

Of more significance are those elements of biblical history which appear in freemasonic mythology, which naturally include an element of architecture or geometry. Of those, four elements of biblical history seem to have been of particular significance: the stories of Noah; the Tower of Babel; Moses and the building of the Tabernacle; and Solomon's Temple. Each of these is given significantly greater space in Anderson's 1723 version of the *Constitutions* than any other part of ancient history, and each receive a particularly significant extension in the 1738 edition. While the Tower of Babel and Solomon's Temple have obvious architectural elements which would naturally be embraced by freemasonry, Noah and Moses require a little justification, which Anderson provides with the suggestion that both the Ark and the Tabernacle, while not made from stone, still required an in-depth understanding of geometry to build.[379]

While Anderson's *Constitutions* imply that these four stories are of particular significance, the remaining documents: the exposures; and the manuscript catechisms, suggest that two in particular had relevance to freemasonic ritual: the stories of Noah, and Solomon's Temple. Before investigating how these two stories informed masonic ritual and symbolism it is necessary to take a look at the background to the importance of Solomon's Temple within early eighteenth-century society. This story would ultimately become the single most significant story within freemasonry, which would include embellishments within freemasonic ritual and lore which do not appear in the core biblical text.

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[376] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p1.
[377] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p7.
[378] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p7.
[379] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), pp4-8; 1738, pp4-9.

Solomon's Temple

More than any other biblical story, the building of Solomon's Temple seems to have captured the imagination of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. The fascination with the structure itself seems to have been inspired initially by the work of Jean Battista Villapando (frequently referred to by the Latinised version of his name: Villapandus), a Spanish Jesuit, who, in 1596, produced a design for the Temple based on the information provided in the biblical description.[380] The interest created by Villapandus' design seems to have inspired an upsurge in interest during the mid seventeenth century. Around 1640, the Spanish Rabbi of Amsterdam and Hamburg, Jacob Judah Leon (who sometimes used the pseudonym Leon Templo) constructed a model of the Temple, which was displayed in London in 1675. When this model was displayed again in London in 1759, it was seen by Laurence Dermott, founder of the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and apparently proved to be of some inspiration to him. In the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, Dermott mentions the model by "the famous and learned Hebrewist, Architect and brother", and states that Leon designed a freemasonic coat of arms based on his design,[381] although it seems more likely that Dermott himself created the coat of arms based on Leon's model. Leon had already written a number of works concerned with the Temple before constructing his model, and seems to have been something of a recognised authority on the subject, with his works still being cited frequently in the early eighteenth century.[382]

Villapandus' earlier design continued to inspire writing on the Temple during the mid seventeenth century: in 1657, Bishop Brian Walton included details and a copy of Villapandus' design in his *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*;[383] while two years later the Puritan Samuel Lee was inspired to produce his own design of the Temple which contrasted sharply with Villapandus' version, appearing more in line with a contemporary (albeit rather large) English church.[384] Lee's work is of particular significance with regard to freemasonic symbolism due to a particular illustration which will be discussed in depth in the next chapter. Another design from the late seventeenth century, which also contrasted with Villapandus' is that of Christopher Wren, who criticised Villapandus for using the Corinthian Order of architecture to create a "mere fancy", with Wren himself preferring what he called the Tyrian

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[380] Jean Battista Villapando, *Ezekiel* (Rome, 1596).
[381] Dermott, *Ahiman Rezon* (1764), p.xxxiv.
[382] For instance, in Urbain Chevreau, *The History of the World, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (London, 1703), Vol III, p483.
[383] Brian Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta Complectentia Textus Originales* (London, 1657), p38.
[384] Samuel Lee, *Orbis Miraculum* (London, 1659).

Manner.[385] Wren's interest in the Temple may have been influenced by Leon, with whom he discussed Solomon's Temple in 1675,[386] although it would seem likely that he already shared the interest with Leon before their meeting: although Wren's design was not published until after his death in 1741, it seems likely that his design of St Paul's Cathedral from the 1660s was based on his ideas of Solomon's Temple.[387]

The works of Villapandus and Leon remained popular at the start of the eighteenth century: in 1703, Urbain Chevreau included a detailed description of Solomon's Temple in his *History of the World*, which was drawn from Villapandus and Leon,[388] while in 1728 Bernard Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus*, containing a different plan of the Temple was translated into English with an observation from the translator on the differences from Villapandus' design.[389]

The 1720s seem to have seen something of a growth in English interest in Solomon's Temple. The most significant contributing factor in this upsurge of interest was the appearance in London of a detailed and lavishly decorated scale model of the Temple, built by a German opera house owner by the name of Gerhard Schott. According to later reports, it would appear that Schott's incentive had been public discontent with a model which was constructed for *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, an opera which was put on at his opera house in 1692.[390] Whether this story is true, or indeed whether it was actually Schott's model which appeared in London in 1724, is not clear: the first newspaper report on the London exhibition states: "a few days ago arrived here from Hamburg, an ingenious Mechanick, a native of that city, with the finest Model of the Temple of Solomon that has been seen, made by himself".[391] If this report is accurate, then the "ingenious mechanick" can not have been Schott, who had died some 22 years earlier.

Regardless of the designer and builder of the model, the suggestion that it was the finest model of the Temple ever seen seems to have been accurate. While the early newspaper reports do not go into much detail, simply stating that it was "composed of Materials and Ornaments so rich, that the whole Work is valued at 20,000 l",[392] a newspaper advertisement

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[385] Christopher Wren, *Parentalia* (London, 1741), pp7-9.
[386] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p116.
[387] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p120.
[388] Chevreau, *History of the World*, Vol III, pp483-491.
[389] Bernard Lamy, *Apparatus Biblicus: or, An Introduction to the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1728), p.xxiv.
[390] F. Chrysander, *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (Hamburg, 4 February 1890).
[391] *London Journal* (London, 29 August 1724), issue CCLXVI.
[392] *London Journal* (London, 29 August 1724), issue CCLXVI.

from 1730, during the second exhibition of the model in that year, goes into considerably more detail:

> To be seen at the Royal-Exchange every Day, the Model of the Temple of Solomon, with all its Porches, Walls, Gates, Chambers and holy Vessels, the great Altar of the Burnt Offering, the Moulton Sea, the Lavers, the Sanctum Sanctorum; with the Ark of the Covenant, the Mercy Seat and Golden Cherubims, the Altar of Incense, the Candlesticks, Tables of Shew-Bread, with the two famous Pillars called Joachim and Boas. Within the Model are 2000 Chambers and Windows, and Pillars, 7000; the Model is 13 foot high and 80 foot round. Likewise the Model of the Tabernacle of Moses, with the Ark of the Covenant, wherein is the Law of Moses, the Pot of Manna and the Rod of Aaron, the Urim. and Tumin, with all the other Vessels. The printed Description of it, with 12 fine Cuts, is to be had at the same Place at 5s. a Book.
>
> N.B. The Publick is desired to take Notice, that the Sanctum Sanctorum, with all the holy Vessels is new gilt, and appears much finer and richer than before.[393]

It seems that the exhibition in 1724 caught the imagination of the London public, with newspaper reports regarding the model appearing sporadically over the next three years, giving us details of the exhibition in Haymarket, a visit by King George I to see the model, and, eventually, the purchase of the model in 1727 by King George II shortly after his accession to the throne.[394] In addition to the German model, the unorthodox theologian William Whiston, who held very different opinions concerning the Temple, constructed his own model "to shew in Opposition to that in the Haymarket".[395]The fact that the two differed considerably is highlighted by the newspaper report concerning Whiston's exhibit which compares it to the Haymarket model and concludes: "both... are pretended to be true Models, yet are different. If our Virtuosi can't agree on Corporeals, no Wonder there is such a Difference in speculative Matters".[396]

Whiston was not the only high profile figure to take an interest in Solomon's Temple. Alongside his better known scientific interests, Isaac Newton was fascinated by theology, and Solomon's Temple proved to be of particular interest: in 1728, a few of his unpublished theological and historical manuscripts were thought fit for publication, and one of these was a detailed exposition of the Temple, with a number of detailed plans.[397] The full details of Newton's ideas concerning the Temple are not important here, but one particular element is

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[393] *Daily Courant* (London, 3 March 1730).
[394] *Daily Journal* (London, 8 December 1724), issue 1212; *Parker's London News* (London, 11 December 1724), issue 947; *Daily Journal* (London, 24 October 1727), issue 2115.
[395] *Mist's Weekly Journal* (London, 6 August 1726), issue 67.
[396] *Mist's Weekly Journal* (London, 6 August 1726), issue 67.
[397] Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of the Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London, 1728), pp332-345.

worth noting: Newton firmly believed that developing an understanding of Solomon's Temple, and in particular of the mathematics and measurements used in its design, would lead to a more thorough understanding of God, and thereby a greater understanding of the mysteries of the world.[398] While Newton's views may not have been inspired by freemasonic views, there is a connection between the two: both John Theophilus Desaguliers, and William Stukeley were friends of Newton, with the latter noting in his diaries that, in 1726, he discussed with Newton the ground plans for the Temple that Newton had drawn up sometime previously.[399] Stukeley's interest in discovering an ancient, original patriarchal religion which inspired him to become a freemason has already been discussed, and it seems improbable that his interest in discussing the Temple with Newton was unrelated to that interest. However, it should be noted that there is no evidence that Newton was himself a freemason.

While the physical elements of Solomon's Temple, through lavish models, and detailed descriptions, were inspiring the populace of London, freemasonry was developing its own mythology surrounding the Temple. The core of the freemasonic myth was based, not surprisingly, on the biblical details. However, a myth of great importance to freemasonic history was developing around one minor character in the biblical narrative: a skilled bronze-worker sent by King Hiram of Tyre to advise Solomon on the building of his Temple, also known as Hiram. His appearance in the biblical narrative refers to him "a widow's son of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father a man of Tyre, a worker in brass: and he was filled with wisdom, and understanding, and cunning to all works in brass".[400] The bible goes on to describe in some detail the brass work created by Hiram for the Temple, but gives no more detail of Hiram himself.[401] The freemasonic Hiram combines this information with some brief details from 2 Chronicles, which describes an unnamed "cunning man, endued with understanding... skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber",[402] who does appear, from his position in the narrative, to be the same individual named as Hiram in 1 Kings.

In Anderson's 1723 version of the *Constitutions*, Hiram is described as "the most accomplish'd Mason upon the Earth", and in a footnote explains why it seems reasonable to give him the surname of Abi or Abif (in more modern times spelt as Abiff), based on a

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[398] William J. Hamblin, and David Rolph Seely, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History* (London, 2007), pp166-167.
[399] Stukeley, *Family Memoirs*, Vol I, p78.
[400] 1 Kings 7:14 (King James Version).
[401] 1 Kings 7:14-46 (King James Version).
[402] 2 Chronicles 2:13.

misguided reinterpretation of the Greek and Latin words used to describe him.[403] By the 1738 version, an additional detail concerning Hiram Abbif (as his name is spelled in that version) has appeared: immediately after completion of the Temple, and before the relics of the Tabernacle had been transferred into it, the joy of the builders was "interrupted by the sudden death of their dear Master Hiram Abbif, whom they decently interr'd in the Lodge near the Temple according to ancient Usage".[404] This additional statement, which does not appear in the biblical texts, seems curious when read solely in comparison with other official freemasonic publications, but, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is explained by the importance of Hiram Abiff's death in freemasonic ritual during the 1730s.

Freemasonic catechisms

Before delving into the developments occurring in freemasonic ritual during the early eighteenth century, and how the mythology described above was involved with those developments, it is necessary to go into brief detail concerning the most important documents, and the difficulties they present.

The main difficulty, as with every area of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century freemasonry, is the nature of the source material. The main sources are the various manuscript catechisms, which generally appear to have been written by individual freemasons for their personal use. These manuscripts generally present only the questions and answers which were used to recognise unfamiliar freemasons, usually when joining or visiting a lodge, and do not generally detail any initiation rituals, or other rituals, such as those used for the opening and closing of lodges. Many of the exposures which appeared in print in the 1720s and 1730s are of a similar nature. However, the earliest catechism in existence dates from 1696, and as such there is a distinct lack of evidence regarding freemasonic ritual during the seventeenth century.

For the earlier period, we must rely solely on the documents commonly referred to as The Old Charges. These are a number of manuscript documents dating from as early as the start of the fifteenth century. The details of these earliest documents are not relevant here, and have been entered into in some detail already by David Stevenson,[405] and briefly discussed in chapter two. However, the seventeenth-century versions give some idea of the situation of masonic ritual prior to the start of the eighteenth century.

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[403] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p11.
[404] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p14.
[405] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp22-25.

The Old Charges themselves are usually divided into two parts: an invocation or opening prayer; and a legendary history of the building industry.[406] In this respect, the first part of Anderson's *Constitutions* can be seen simply as an extended version of the Old Charges, and performed the same basic function for early Grand Lodge freemasonry as the Old Charges performed for the sixteenth and seventeenth-century stonemasons' guilds. A few other documents give some small indications of freemasonic ceremonies during the seventeenth century, such as the oath which is often associated with Randall Holme's list of initiates.[407]

During the 1930s and 1940s, Douglas Knoop spent some considerable time investigating these various seventeenth-century sources, and providing a general scheme of the changes in freemasonic ritual and practice during the seventeenth century, and while his work is often heavily influenced by the contemporary opinions of the United Grand Lodge of England (of which Knoop, as a practising freemason was a member), his general scheme for seventeenth-century development seems to be a solid basis on which to base any further discussion of the topic.[408]

Knoop's general scheme of seventeenth-century practice is along these lines:[409] at the start of the seventeenth century in Scotland, a secret "Mason Word" was being imparted to candidates; the first evidence of something similar in English freemasonry first appears during the latter part of the same century. Conversely, Knoop argues that the reading of the Charges and History is prevalent in English freemasonry early in the seventeenth century, while this does not appear to be the case in Scotland until the latter part of the century.

However, this argument is problematic in that it assumes the more frequent occurrences of manuscript versions of the Old Charges in England automatically implies their use in freemasonic initiations: as highlighted by Stevenson, there is no evidence that this is the case, with only two examples of those manuscripts being associated with lodges, and the earliest being a MS from 1686 now in the possession of the Lodge of Antiquity.[410] Stevenson does not expand on his argument, and it must be admitted that it is difficult to comprehend why anyone would have taken the time to write a copy of the Charges for any purpose other than use at gatherings of either operative stonemasons, or of accepted freemasons. Nonetheless, the evidence is not conclusive either way.

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[406] A more lengthy discussion of the various *Old Charges* can be found in Knoop, and Jones, *Short History of Freemasonry*.
[407] London, British Library, Harleian MS 2054, f.33.
[408] In particular, Knoop, *Genesis of Speculative Masonry*, among a number of other works by Knoop and Jones which go into less detail.
[409] Knoop, *Genesis of Speculative Masonry*, pp6-7.
[410] Stevenson, *Origins*, p22.

Furthermore, Knoop's scheme would seem to imply a gradual coming together of two species of freemasonry with differing roots, one in England and one in Scotland: something which, as already discussed, would seem improbable. The fact that there is no documentary evidence of the imparting of a Mason Word in England in the early part of the century should not necessarily be taken as evidence that such an activity did not occur. Similarly, the lack of documentary evidence of Old Charges in Scotland is not proof that they did not exist, merely that they do not exist now. As has already been discussed, the idea of segregating Scottish and English freemasonry into separate species is flawed, and relies on the assumption that transmission of ideas between the two would not have been as fluid as would seem natural for a craft with a highly mobile membership. As such, it would seem more sensible to conclude that the lack of documents is an accident of destruction or poor record keeping, and that the activities of Scottish lodges and English stonemasons were similar throughout the seventeenth century, barring a few localised differences.

Knoop also highlights the different methods of initiation implied by the various seventeenth-century documents. Focussing on the operative lodges of Scotland, he highlights the use of a two-degree system of initiations dating from before the start of the seventeenth century. At the start of the century, this seemed to consist of just one actual initiation ceremony which would take place at the end of an apprenticeship, and mark the entrance of the initiate as a fully qualified stonemason, or Fellow-Craft. The appearance of an initiation ceremony for a newly apprenticed mason is not evident until the latter part of the seventeenth century. However, the ranks of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft were generally abandoned when gentlemen were initiated as honorary masons, with a single ceremony taking place throughout the seventeenth century which, during the latter part of the century seems to have combined the core elements of the Apprentice and Fellow-Craft ceremonies into one.[411]

Knoop does not extend this system into England, or suggest an alternative for English accepted masons during the seventeenth century. However, the limited evidence we have for English accepted masonry throughout this period seems to suggest that the Scottish system for gentleman masons is repeated in England: the reference to Moray and Hamilton's initiation implies that only one ceremony took place,[412] as does Ashmole's diary entry,[413] and there is no indication from any source that any of the three went through a second initiation at any

[411] Knoop, *On The Connection*, p33.
[412] Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh. The full entry regarding Moray's initiation can be found at <http://www.freemasonry.bcy.ca/texts/moray_r.html>, accessed 9 April 2009.
[413] MS Ashm. 1136, f.19v, from Josten, *Elias Ashmole*, Vol I, pp395-396.

other time. This would seem to fit in well with the theory detailed in chapter three, that English accepted freemasonry gradually spread south after the initiations of gentlemen freemasons into operative lodges had reached a critical mass in the North of England.

The appearance of the first MS catechism (Register House MS) in 1696 seems to be overlooked as a significant indicator of change within freemasonic ritual. Knoop suggests that this MS may represent practice which was already several decades old, but fails to give any adequate reasoning behind such an assertion.[414] It is possible that a number of earlier manuscripts have been lost, and therefore 1696 itself should not be seen as a specific year in which catechisms first appeared. However, if the concept of a freemasonic catechism matched the antiquity of the Old Charges, then it would not be unreasonable to expect to find at least a few examples either alongside the manuscript versions of the Charges, or separately dating from some point during the three centuries in which the Old Charges seem to have been reproduced relatively frequently. It could be argued that there are issues of secrecy which prevented the writing down of catechisms prior to 1696, and this does appear to be a valid reason for their relatively late appearance: the Old Charges tend to detail a mythical history and a prayer, neither of which have any particular value as secrets within freemasonry; while the catechisms tend to detail the methods of recognising fellow masons, which is, by its nature, knowledge intended to be the preserve of masons only. However, the manuscript catechisms which do exist are clearly not intended for publication, and it is unlikely that they were intended for any purpose other than aides memoir for the individuals who wrote them down. If only one document existed from the final decade of the seventeenth century, then this would be a viable argument: however, there are in existence at least eight manuscript catechisms dated between 1696 and 1714, and not a single example prior to 1696. It seems somewhat implausible that the relatively sudden appearance of a number of catechisms would have occurred in such a short space of time if the reason for none prior to 1696 was one of secrecy, unless the requirement for secrecy had disappeared from freemasonry around that time. There is no evidence that this was the case, and it therefore seems that the only viable explanation is that the catechism was a relatively new development, appearing toward the end of the seventeenth century.

This theory would seem to be supported by the inclusion of, or references to, oaths of secrecy in the majority of the manuscript catechisms, which do not appear in any version of the Old Charges prior to 1670. This is a curious omission from the earlier documentation: undoubtedly there was, at the very least, a secret Mason Word which must pre-date the

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[414] Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p9.

appearance of Henry Adamson's 1638 poem which linked the secrecy of the Mason Word to the secrecy of the Rosicrucians.[415] However, the implication of its inclusion in later documentation is perhaps related to the growth of accepted freemasonry in England, as opposed to the operative freemasonry in Scotland.

The purpose of secret signs of recognition amongst guilds of operative stonemasons is, at least in part, to ensure that the trade of stonemasonry was not brought into disrepute by cowans (unqualified masons) taking on work for which they were not qualified. As stonemasonry is, by its nature, a craft which requires its practitioners to travel to wherever building may be taking place, and one in which the results of the craft must, by their nature, remain stationary, it would necessarily be virtually impossible for an individual craftsman to prove the quality of his work in order to obtain employment in areas where he is not known. In effect the Mason Word, which was divulged only to those who had successfully completed an apprenticeship with a qualified mason, would act as something akin to an employment reference: those who possessed the Word could approach local masons working on a building, and, by demonstrating their knowledge of that secret, could demonstrate a minimum level of competence in order to obtain employment. As such, the incentive to keep the Mason Word secret was, for operative masons, a matter of maintaining their reputation and livelihood, and under such circumstances, an oath of secrecy would seem unnecessary.

The same conditions would not apply to either honorary gentleman masons, or to English accepted masons, and it would therefore seem likely that the origin of the oaths of secrecy, although not documented, came from the initiations of honorary gentlemen into Scottish lodges, and thereby transferred to English accepted freemasonry as it spread throughout the country. Thus, by 1670, when there were a significant number of accepted, rather than operative freemasons spreading freemasonry within England, the oath became a natural part of freemasonic initiation, and began to form part of the Charges, and later of the catechisms.

The question over why catechisms begin to appear is therefore something which needs to be considered, and perhaps this is a part of the process by which freemasonry was evolving during the seventeenth century in England. The custom of a tradesman demonstrating his qualifications to his fellow tradesman is, by its nature, something of a deeply practical nature. While it would be easy to envisage this being done by way of answering questions about the secret forms of recognition, whether they be words, grips, or signs, it is equally easy to see that this would not necessarily have to take the form of a formal catechism with a set series of

[415] Adamson, *Muses Threnodie*.

questions and specifically worded answers. Once the practical aspects of this are taken away, however, a greater level of formalisation would seem a natural result: neither the incentive to remember the details accurately, nor the paramount importance of keeping these details secret is present outside of that practical application, and therefore both the formalisation of catechisms into specific forms, and the writing down of those specific forms as aides memoir would seem an obvious progression. Thus, the appearance of the earliest manuscript catechisms toward the end of the seventeenth century may be encompassing the core elements of something which had existed in freemasonry for many decades, but equally demonstrates a more formalised approach as a result of the expansion of accepted masonry.

Chapter 5: Freemasonic ritual

In order to assess the development of freemasonic ritual it is necessary first to define its constituent parts. The types of ritual used by freemasonry throughout history can be grouped together into four general categories: initiatory; recognitory; constitutional; and opening and closing. Initiatory rituals are those in which a candidate is initiated into any specific degree of which they have not previously been a member; recognitory rituals are those which focus on the concept of an individual proving his status within freemasonry through his knowledge of the secret matter for the degrees to which he has previously been initiated; constitutional rituals are those which take place for official purposes, such as the constituting of a new lodge; while opening and closing rituals are those rituals which book-end meetings of freemasons, whether that be a regular lodge meeting, a feast, or any other official gathering. Strictly speaking, there are also celebratory rituals, in so much as events such as the annual grand feast follow a structured pattern which includes an organised procession, a ritual opening and closing, a series of ritualised toasts, and are attended by masons wearing full masonic ritual regalia. However, for the purposes of this chapter, the term ritual will be used strictly for those ceremonies which follow a specific pattern throughout, and have a fixed, if slightly mutable, set of words and actions from inception to completion. In this context, the Grand Feasts do not fall into the categorisation of ritual, although elements of them, such as the opening and closing, do. The celebratory rituals which tend to follow a much more fluid pattern, and include a large element of socialising rather than formalised ritual practise will therefore not be discussed in any great detail, except where those elements of ritual observed on such occasions are relevant to the general picture of freemasonic ritual.

Trying to place the appearance of these types of ritual into a chronological order is not an easy task. The core concepts involved in freemasonic ritual almost certainly pre-date the actual ritualization of those concepts. Thus, the idea of a medieval operative stonemason proving his knowledge of the craft to fellow stone masons would have been very unlikely to have started life as a full blown ritual with set questions and answers, and would be much more likely to have started out life as something akin to an interview in which the tester would put various, randomly selected questions to the subject. Similarly, it would seem unlikely for the passing on of the appropriate knowledge to a newly qualified stone mason to have taken the form of a ritual initiation from the moment of its inception. As such, evidence pointing to the existence of such things as secret words or signs of recognition can not necessarily be taken as evidence of a ritualised form of sharing that knowledge.

As already discussed, Knoop has highlighted that, at least by the middle of the seventeenth century, it was standard practice in Scottish operative lodges to read the Old Charges to a newly qualified mason,[416] and this would certainly seem to indicate that at least some form of rudimentary ritual was taking place, in that a set form of words was being used to convey certain information to the candidate. Whether or not this can be extended back to the start of the century when it was known that the Mason Word was being imparted to candidates in two parts[417] is not so clear, as there is no reference to an actual ritualised form of giving this information at such an early date. However, there are instances of gentleman masons receiving the Mason Word in Scottish lodges at this point in one, rather than two parts.[418] This would seem to suggest that at least some basic form of ritual was being used to impart this information, as otherwise there would seem to be little reason to convene a lodge simply to pass on this information to honorary members of the organisation. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that there was at least some rudimentary form of initiation ritual for qualified masons and their honourary gentleman associates at the start of the seventeenth century. However, it should be noted that at this early stage there is no evidence of an equivalent ritual for the imparting of knowledge to new apprentices: the first implication of such a ritual does not occur until the appearance of an "Apprentice Charge" in some versions of the Old Charges in the latter part of the seventeenth century.[419] Considering this, it would actually appear that the initiation of gentlemen in the earlier part of the century may not have been two ceremonies combined into one as is generally believed to be the case, but rather the same ceremony as a newly qualified Fellow-Craft.

It therefore would seem that the rituals of initiation were still developing during the seventeenth century: some rudimentary ceremony seems to have existed at the start of the century for imparting knowledge to honorary gentleman members of Scottish lodges, and to newly qualified Fellow-Crafts, while the new apprentices were given the relevant part of the Mason Word somewhat less formally until sometime toward the end of the century. This would also seem to match with the concept of a single ceremony of initiation for those early English accepted masons, such as Elias Ashmole. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the nature of initiatory ceremonies at the start of the eighteenth century was still in a phase of natural development.

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[416] Knoop, *Genesis of Speculative Masonry*, p6.
[417] Knoop, *Genesis of Speculative Masonry*, p6.
[418] Knoop, *Genesis of Speculative Masonry*, p6.
[419] Knoop, *On The Connection*, p33.

The recognitory rituals would seem to be of slightly later origin. As already discussed there is no direct evidence of a ritualised form of proving masonic knowledge prior to the year 1696, in which the Register House MS was written. Stevenson has presented a valid argument that this, along with the Chetwode Crawley MS, the Kevan MS, and the Haughfoot fragment[420] all appear to have been copied from a single original source: he highlights a number of places where the wording is near enough identical, and there seems little reason to dispute his conclusion,[421] although it should be noted that the recently discovered Airlie MS should also be added to this group. It may therefore be reasonable to push back the date a little earlier than the 1690s. Stevenson has also argued that the appearance of written catechisms is simply the result of a marked increase in the number of non-operatives joining Scottish lodges during the 1690s and writing down long standing ceremonies for their own use, along with what he refers to as the natural culmination of a long term trend in which the secrets contained in the Mason Word were becoming less secret due as the result of information leaks.[422] While Stevenson's arguments are valid, the fact that a number of documents appear in a relatively short space of time, with no precursors, does not fit the suggestion of a long-term trend, in which it would be expected that at least the occasional reference to a specific ritual or catechism of recognition, if not sporadic manuscripts, would appear from much earlier. Furthermore, the suggestion that the influx of non-operative masons brought about a sudden desire to write down already existing rituals seems no more likely than the possibility, as discussed earlier, that this influx would result in the formalisation of a previously informal system of recognition into a ritualised, catechised system. With a lack of any evidence to imply the existence of catechisms prior to 1696, it does not seem reasonable to place their origins much earlier than the mid 1680s.

It is also worth noting that the majority of early catechisms have a Scottish provenance: Register House (1696), Chetwode Crawley (c.1700), the Haughfoot Fragment (1702), Airlie (1705), Dumfries (c.1710), and Kevan (c.1715) all seem to be from Scotland.[423] In addition to these existing catechisms, it is also known that the Aberdeen Lodge paid a printer to produce what was almost certainly a catechism in 1699, although this early printed catechism no longer exists.[424] However, two examples of early catechisms do not appear to be Scottish: Sloane (c.1700) appears to be English in origin,[425] while Trinity (1711) appears to be Irish.[426] This would therefore seem to suggest that the origins of the catechism of recognition as a

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[420] See Appendix 3, p3 for information concerning these and other relevant documents.
[421] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp136-137. The manuscripts mentioned date from between 1696 and 1720.
[422] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp135-136.
[423] Stevenson, *Origins*, p137, goes into detail of the provenance of these MS.
[424] Stevenson, *Origins*, p137.
[425] Stevenson, *Origins*, p137.
[426] Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p63.

freemasonic ritual are Scottish, and began to be transmitted into England and Ireland not too long after their inception. However, the fact that only two of the first eight known catechisms are not Scottish could be seen to imply a relatively limited exposure to the concept outside of that country. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence to suggest whether catechisms were widespread outside of Scotland prior to the 1720s, or are more rare occurrences. Nonetheless, it seems probable that catechisms, and therefore the recognitory rituals with which they are associated, were a relatively new innovation in masonry at the start of the eighteenth century.

The only ritual during the early eighteenth century of a constitutional nature, that of constituting a new lodge, does not appear in any documentation prior to 1723. In that year, Anderson's first edition of *The Constitutions* included this ritual. The ritual itself is short, and somewhat practical in nature: the proposed Master of the new lodge is tested to ensure his knowledge of the freemasonic secrets is sufficient, and is then presented to the Grand Master who "by certain significant ceremonies" installs the Master, and presents him with "the Constitutions, the Lodge-Book, and the Instruments of his Office". After this, the new Master of the Lodge chooses, and invests the two Wardens.[427]

Although Anderson refers to this ritual as being in accordance with "the ancient Usages of Masons", it seems unlikely that it was practiced much earlier than 1723. As discussed in chapter three, the concept of a lodge meeting on a regular basis is a relatively late development in English accepted freemasonry, and thereby the idea of constituting a new, and thereby permanent, lodge would have been meaningless to English freemasonry before the early eighteenth century. Furthermore, the idea of constituting a new lodge, which is approved by a Grand Master, inherently implies a governing body which is in a position to authorise the constituting of a subordinate body: Anderson's ceremony is replete with references to Grand Officers, which would seem to add further evidence to the idea that this ritual is relevant only once a governing body is in existence. Considering the discussion in chapter four concerning the development of the Grand Lodge into a governing body in the early 1720s, it seems impossible to date this constitutional ceremony any earlier than the early part of that decade.

This leaves the question of those rituals used for the opening and closing of lodges. It is noticeable that there is no reference to any such ritual during the seventeenth century or the first three decades of the eighteenth. The hints at ritual in the Scottish operative lodge minutes, and the various copies of the Old Charges do not imply that any such ritual took place, instead

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[427] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), pp71-72

referring largely to initiatory rituals. The various catechisms dating from 1696 to 1750 make no direct reference to such rituals, despite the variation in types of ritual which are detailed, with some detailing purely the recognitory catechisms, and others adding details of initiatory ritual. Even Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, which contains the most thorough detail of freemasonic ritual in the period in question,[428] gives no details of ceremonies used for opening and closing lodges.

However, it appears that such a ritual may have begun to be practiced during the late 1720s. A hint to that effect appears in a comparison of the ritual for constituting a new lodge detailed in the 1723 and 1738 versions of the *Constitutions*. In the 1723 version, the second paragraph begins with the statement: "The Candidates, or the new Master and Wardens...".[429] In the 1738 version, the paragraph is identical with the exception of five words prefixed to it: "The Lodge being open'd, and the Candidates, or the new Master and Wardens...".[430] Similarly in the 1738 version of the ritual, the ending has been slightly extended. This new ending concludes with the statement that "after the Master's Song he [the Grand Master] orders the G. Warden to close the Lodge",[431] a statement which is absent from the 1723 version. Furthermore, the sixth Charge concerning Behaviour of a mason is subtitled "in the Lodge while Constituted" in 1723,[432] but "in the Lodge before closing" in 1738.[433]

These additions would seem to imply that, while in 1723 a lodge would simply gather and disperse informally; by 1738 the lodge would be opened and closed in a more formal manner. The timing of the introduction of these rituals can be narrowed down a little further, due to two brief references in the only other early eighteenth-century document to imply that such rituals existed: Prichard's *Masonry Dissected.* In this exposure, Prichard reveals that the Master of the Lodge "stands in the East... to open the Lodge", while the Wardens stand in the West "to close the Lodge".[434] This is the first time that such a reference appears in any catechism, which would seem to suggest that the rituals implied were relatively new in 1730: particularly considering that a number of exposures and manuscripts from the late 1720s make reference to Masters and Wardens standing in the same parts of the lodge without making reference to the opening and closing of a lodge, but rather relating them purely to the start and the end of the working day. Unfortunately there is no other reference to the ritual

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[428] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected.*
[429] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p71.
[430] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p150.
[431] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p151.
[432] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p53.
[433] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p146.
[434] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p15.

opening or closing of a lodge during this period, and as such it is impossible to tell what form these rituals took.

There would appear to be two possible roots to these opening and closing rituals: either as the result of a natural development and expansion of already existing ritual; or as the result of an active decision on behalf of the Grand Lodge to create such rituals. The latter of these suggestions seems less likely. After the publication of two exposures of freemasonic ritual which seemed to be of particular concern to the Grand Lodge, they considered several ideas "for preventing any false Brethren being admitted into regular lodges and such as call themselves Honorary Masons".[435] Unfortunately the details of those ideas were not recorded, and it is possible (although, as will be discussed later, unlikely) that these ideas included changes to existing ritual, or the addition of new rituals. However, even assuming that these ideas did include the addition of opening and closing rituals to lodges, it is difficult to see how those rituals would have succeeded in preventing false Brethren from attending. Although there is no evidence concerning the content of such rituals in the 1730s, almost a century later they were printed in a thorough exposure of masonic ritual.[436] While it is likely that there would have been some development in ritual over this period, the fact that all of the significant roles within these particular rituals are played by the officers of the lodge makes it difficult to see how the deliberate introduction of these rituals would have been of any benefit in preventing false brethren from attending.

It therefore seems more likely that the opening and closing rituals were the result of a more gradual development. With a lack of any evidence either way, it is, of course, impossible to reach any firm conclusion. However, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the origin for these rituals may be found in the development and growth of the annual Grand Feast. Although this began as a largely informal gathering,[437] by 1730 it had developed considerably, and involved a well organised procession through London by masons in full ritual regalia, terminating at the location of the Feast. Anderson details the end of the 1730 procession, which "decently walk'd into the Lodge Room (while the others walk'd into the Hall) and there the Masters and Wardens of Lodges received their G. Master with Joy and Reverence in due Form. He sat down in his Chair before the Pedestal, cover'd with the rich Cushion, upon which were laid the Constitutions and the Sword; and the G.M. Elect on his Right Hand".[438] For each Grand Feast after that, Anderson simply states for the end of the procession: "all

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[435] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p148.
[436] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*.
[437] See chapter 3, p3 ff.
[438] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p126.

things being regularly transacted as above".[439] This would certainly appear to be something of an opening ceremony, and later in the entry for the 1730 Grand Feast Anderson states that "After the opening of the Lodge, the last Minutes were read by the Secretary".[440]

Considering these developments in the opening of the Grand Feast, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the opening and closing ceremonies briefly referred to by Anderson in 1738 are something of a natural development of the trend by which the Grand Feast gradually became more formalised, with a social gathering first adopting a procession through London which became ever more grand, until it evolved into something of an opening ceremony for the feast itself. With an opening ceremony, and presumably a closing ceremony to complete the effect, appearing at the Grand Feast, it is not difficult to imagine the concept beginning to appear in Lodges, probably at first without the explicit approval of the Grand Lodge, but being accepted by the Grand Lodge at some point during the 1730s as a standard and reasonable part of Lodge practice.

As the focus of the research behind this thesis is the period 1640-1740, I have not thoroughly investigated the various masonic manuscripts from the latter part of the eighteenth century, and it is possible that these may give a greater insight into the development of these opening and closing rituals. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is necessary only to highlight that the first time any significant details regarding the ritual opening and closing of a lodge appears in print is Richard Carlile's 1825 *Manual of Freemasonry.*[441] Carlile presents the most thorough exposure to date of freemasonic ritual, and includes full details of the rituals used for opening and closing of lodges in all three of the main Craft degrees. Clearly, by 1825 these rituals were well developed, but without further research into late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century masonic documentation it is impossible to say how these rituals developed to that point.

At the start of the eighteenth century it would therefore appear that freemasonic ritual consisted entirely of initiatory and recognitory ceremonies, with the addition of the ritual for constituting a new lodge appearing in the mid 1720s, and the first rituals for the opening and closing of lodges in the late 1720s. Furthermore, these forms of ritual were either of relatively recent provenance, in the case of the recognitory catechisms; or, in the case of the initiatory rituals, still undergoing a process of gradual change despite a likely antiquity of well over a century.

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[439] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p128, amongst numerous others.
[440] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p126.
[441] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry.*

With this in mind, it is necessary to tackle the question of the influence of John Theophilus Desaguliers in the development of freemasonic ritual during the 1720s. There is a general acceptance amongst freemasonic writers that Desaguliers was either solely responsible for dramatic changes in ritual in the early 1720s, or that he was the most significantly influential member of a group responsible for those changes. This view has also found its way, unquestioned, into academic works: David Harrison, for instance, makes the statement that Desaguliers was responsible for revising the third (Master Mason) degree, but fails to give any evidence to support the assertion.[442] As Desaguliers' part in the development of freemasonic ritual has been universally accepted without question, it seems necessary to investigate the actual background to such a belief, and consider whether there is sufficient evidence to support the claim.

Desaguliers' involvement in freemasonry was certainly enthusiastic. Within the first decade of the existence of the Grand Lodge, he served as Grand Master once and Deputy Grand Master on a further three occasions. He was Master of a French lodge in London, and later of a lodge in Holland, and was responsible for the initiations of both the Duke of Lorraine (later Emperor of Austria), and of the Prince of Wales. He was also active in both the committee for charity, and in the activities and politics of the Grand Lodge until his death in 1744. It therefore does not seem unlikely that he would have been influential in any changes brought into freemasonry as a result of Grand Lodge policy.

Furthermore, there are three pieces of evidence which specifically suggest Desaguliers was responsible for changes in ritual. The clearest of these is from a manuscript document which can be dated to c.1732.[443] The final page of this document contains two drawings of lodge layout: the first is entitled "This is the form of the old lodges" while the second carries the title "the new lodge under the Desaguliers regulations".[444] A further reference appears in a 1729 newspaper article, which refers to "innovations... lately introduced by the Doctor and some others of the Moderns":[445] there can be little doubt that "the Doctor" is a reference to Dr Desaguliers. The details of both of these documents will be looked at in greater detail shortly. However, for now it is sufficient to note that the 1729 article is a very clever satire, and the reference to "the Doctor" could easily be taken as a satirical comment concerning Desaguliers' high profile within freemasonry, rather than a statement of his direct

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[442] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p95.
[443] See appendix 3, p3.
[444] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.
[445] *Daily Post* (London, Friday 20 June 1729), issue 3042.

involvement with changes in ritual. The reference in the above-mentioned manuscript to "the Desaguliers' regulations" is perhaps a more clear indication that there was a belief, at least held by the writer of the document, that Desaguliers was responsible for the changes: however, this could, again, be the result of Desaguliers' high profile within Grand Lodge freemasonry, rather than a definitive statement regarding his direct involvement in the changing of masonic ritual. It should also be noted that there is no other reference to "the Desaguliers regulations" in any other document, and it is certainly not a term used by the Grand Lodge: it seems to have been invented by the author of that particular manuscript, and not taken up by any other writers inside or outside of freemasonry.

The final piece of evidence, often cited by freemasons as definitive evidence of Desaguliers' responsibility for changes in masonic ritual, comes from the Grand Lodge minute book.[446] On 28 August 1730, after the publication of an exposure in the *Daily Journal* earlier that month,[447] the minutes record that Desaguliers "recommended several things to the consideration of the Grand Lodge... for preventing any false Brethren being admitted into regular lodges and such as call themselves Honorary Masons".[448] However, the following meeting recorded the decision to put in place administrative rules to counter this problem, with the requirement that any masons visiting a lodge had to be vouched for by a member of the lodge, and the names of both the visitor and the member vouching for them in the lodge book.[449] It seems perfectly reasonable to suppose that it was these changes suggested by Desaguliers rather than dramatic changes to ritual.

Desaguliers' enthusiastic involvement in Grand Lodge politics would seem to be good reason to suppose that he would have had an influential voice in any changes to ritual brought about as a direct result of Grand Lodge politics. However, beyond that reasonable supposition, there is no evidence either from within or without the Grand Lodge that gives a clear indication as to Desaguliers' actual input into the changes in freemasonic ritual which occurred during the 1720s: changes which will be discussed shortly. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to conclude that Desaguliers was directly responsible for changes in freemasonic ritual during the early period of Grand Lodge freemasonry, although it does seem reasonable to conclude that he was an influential voice in any changes brought about by the Grand Lodge.

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[446] This is generally cited in largely unreliable sources written by non-academic freemasons. However, it is such a widespread belief amongst freemasons (and can be found on numerous masonic websites such as <http://www.rgle.org.uk/RGLE_18th_century.htm>, accessed 18 March 2009) that it seems worthy of brief discussion.
[447] *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), issue 2998.
[448] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p148.
[449] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p153.

This raises the question of whether the Grand Lodge was solely, or chiefly responsible for changes in freemasonry during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Or, perhaps more importantly, whether the Grand Lodge was intentionally responsible for those changes, or whether they were the result of a natural development within freemasonic ritual which may or may not have originated within lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. In order to assess this question, it is first necessary to look at the developments in freemasonic ritual during the early eighteenth century.

In order to look at the various developments in masonic ritual, it seems sensible to break down rituals into various elements, and to investigate how each of these elements developed over time, leading to a more thorough overview of the developments which occurred within freemasonry during the early eighteenth century. For this purpose elements of freemasonic ritual can be broken down into the following categories: purpose (i.e. initiation, recognition); use of space (i.e. the physical set-up of the ritual such as ground-plan, accoutrements, positioning of participants); roles within ritual; overall ritual structure (i.e. the progression of rituals of initiation, or the various degrees); mythological basis; symbolism; and communication (the method of conveying information, and of eliciting a particular emotional response from participants).

The basic purposes of freemasonic ritual and the developments in that area have already been discussed earlier in this chapter. However, as noted in that discussion, freemasonic ritual in the early eighteenth century primarily consisted of initiatory and recognitory rituals, and as such seems to have been entirely focussed on the communication of certain secret matter: whether that be in the form of initiating new members and informing them of that matter; or of already initiated members proving their knowledge of those secrets. The additions to this schema are the ritual for constituting a new lodge in 1723; and the opening and closing rituals which appear in the mid 1730s, but for which no significant details are available until almost a century later.

With the exception of the changes discussed earlier in this chapter, the two examples of the ritual for constituting a lodge are near enough identical. The 1738 ritual has added the singing of a song before the end of the ritual, but that, along with the references to the opening and closing of the Lodge is the only change.[450] There therefore seems little reason to consider this any further with regard to the development of freemasonic ritual in the early eighteenth century. In addition to this, the development of opening and closing rituals is impossible to

[450] Anderson, *Constitutions*: compare (1723), pp71-72 with (1738), pp149-151.

investigate due to the complete lack of evidence concerning them during the early eighteenth century. Thus the remainder of this chapter will focus solely on the initiatory and recognitory rituals.

The use of space in freemasonic ritual seems to have undergone quite dramatic changes during the early eighteenth century. However, there is, unfortunately, very limited evidence with regard to this aspect of ceremony. There are only two documents which give any indication of the use of space in freemasonic ritual. Both of these documents require some discussion with regard to their dates of provenance: one is difficult to ascertain an exact date for; while the other is very clearly dated, but in every history of freemasonry to date has been given incorrectly.

The first of these documents is a manuscript catechism which takes the form of a dialogue between Simon and Philip, a town mason and a travelling mason respectively: for ease of reference, its full title will be shortened to *A Dialogue* throughout this thesis.[451] The date at which this was written is a matter of some disagreement. The document was originally unearthed in the 1930s, at which time Douglas Knoop was cataloguing the various masonic manuscripts. Knoop initially dated this document to c.1740, based on the contents of the catechism, and its similarity to other catechisms from that period.[452] However, it appears that, after discussion with the United Grand Lodge of England, Knoop revised his dating to 1725, and it is printed under that date in the second edition of *Early Masonic Catechisms.*[453] However, it is unclear exactly why Knoop made this change, and placing it at such an early date does seem somewhat out of context with the nature of the catechism: it would seem at least possible that Knoop was keen to promote the idea of early and rapid changes in Grand Lodge freemasonry instigated by Desaguliers, and his early dating of 1725 was more the result of wishful thinking than academic rigour.

A third date of 1730 has been suggested by Alain Bauer, who has linked the changes detailed in this document (which will be looked at shortly) to the steps taken by the Grand Lodge in 1730 to prevent false Brethren from attending lodge meetings.[454] While Bauer's work lacks the rigours of an academic approach to his subject, and there is, as already discussed, reason to question the assumption that the changes instigated in 1730 were ritualistic, rather than administrative in nature, Bauer's dating of this document is perhaps more accurate than either

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[451] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.
[452] Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp125-126.
[453] Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms* (2nd edition, 1963).
[454] Alain Bauer, *Isaac Newton's Freemasonry* (Rochester, Vermont, 2007), p112.

of Knoop's suggested dates. The nature of the wording and of the details of the catechism would certainly seem to imply that it has drawn either from Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, or, more likely from the same traditions which informed Prichard's work. It therefore seems improbable that this document dates from any time prior to 1730, and a date of somewhere between 1730 and 1735 seems far more appropriate.

The second document is an advertisement which appeared in the *Daily Post* dated 20 June 1729.[455] This advertisement, and the history of its twentieth-century rediscovery, has coloured the views of the development of freemasonic ritual in a rather unfortunate manner. The advertisement seems to have gone unnoticed amongst freemasons and historians until the early twentieth century when it came to the attention of the amateur freemasonic historian, Henry Sadler, who served as the first Librarian and Curator to The United Grand Lodge of England when the post was created in 1910. At the time of discovery Sadler was a little over seventy years of age, and it appears that he had become a little careless in his old age: he gave the date of the advertisement as 1726, rather than 1729.[456] This error was compounded in 1940 when Knoop and Jones published their *Short History of Freemasonry to 1730* in which they not only cited Sadler's date of 1726 for the advertisement, but also managed to incorrectly give the year of Sadler's discovery as 1911, while failing to reference the work itself in which Sadler had mentioned the document.[457] Unfortunately, this work by Knoop and Jones seems to have become something of a bible for researchers of early eighteenth-century freemasonic history, and the dates of 1726 and 1911 have been repeated in every other publication, up to and including David Harrison's 2008 doctoral thesis,[458] citing Knoop and Jones as the source.

This unfortunate error in dating has led to an acceptance in freemasonic circles that the changes made to freemasonic ritual occurred rapidly in the early 1720s, and has added weight to the theory that such changes were the result of Desaguliers' direct intervention. Considering that, in 1726, the Grand Lodge had been claiming jurisdiction over English freemasonry for less than four years, such a conclusion would be valid: however, the addition of a further three years to Grand Lodge activity, and the dramatic expansion that occurred in Grand Lodge jurisdiction over the whole of the 1720s, the accurate dating of this advertisement to 1729 presents a very different picture, and while it does not preclude the

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[455] *Daily Post* (London, 20 June 1729), issue 3042.
[456] Henry Sadler, 'Irregular and Peculiar Masonic Societies', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. XXIII, (1910).
[457] Knoop and Jones, *Short History of Freemasonry*.
[458] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p234.

possibility of a rapid, intentional change, it does open up the possibility of a more gradual, natural development.

Having dealt with the dating of these documents, it is now necessary to look at the information they contain which gives some indication as to the changes in the use of space in ritual which were taking place in the early eighteenth century.

The *Dialogue* gives the clearest indication of change. While the catechism itself does not give any indications, the final page of the document contains two drawings of the layout of a lodge. These are labelled as the "old" and "new" layouts (see fig. 2).[459] The diagrams clearly show a significant change in the way in which the lodge is set up: the old lodge in the shape of an equal-armed cross has been replaced by a more simple rectangle; the eastern end of the lodge has gained a significant amount of paraphernalia including a bible and four masonic tools, while in the north and south an additional entered apprentice and fellow craft have been added respectively. In addition to this, the three candles have been moved slightly to form the points of an equilateral triangle which surrounds the centrepiece. Furthermore, the centre-piece of the lodge is changed from a simple diamond shape to a blazing star emblem, or "holy flame" for one particular ceremony.

Further information can be gleaned from the 1729 advertisement.[460] This advertisement is a very cleverly written piece of satire. To those who know of freemasonry by reputation only, it could seem almost as though it were a notice of a genuine meeting of freemasons: the style of language used, and the details of the purported meeting are clearly drawn from masonic usage. For instance, it states that "There will likewise be a lecture, giving a particular description of the Temple of Solomon, and which Way the Fellow Craft got into the Middle Chamber to receive their wages", which seems perfectly in keeping with the sorts or masonic lectures regularly advertised. Possibly the only hint of satire that would have been noticed by the less-informed public is the reference to the provision of "a Gormagon, to keep of the Cowin and Eves-droppers". The satire is thereby very specifically aimed at those who understand freemasonry, and most probably at freemasons themselves: for instance, the reference to those masons "made after the Antediluvian Manner" seems innocuous enough to the general reader, who would most likely have accepted it as just another example of the curious use of biblical terms by freemasons. However, it is a reference to a non-existent group; or rather, a mythical

[459] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.
[460] *Daily Post* (London, 20 June 1729), issue 3042.

element of freemasonry which was portrayed within freemasonry to have existed, as the name suggests, before the biblical flood.[461]

Despite the satirical nature of this advertisement, it is a useful indicator of changes which were occurring in freemasonic ritual at the time. In regard to the use of space in freemasonic ritual, it provides some particularly useful information. Amongst the "innovations that have been lately introduced", it refers to "Tape, Tacks, moveable Lectures, Blazing Stars, &c. to the great indignity of the Mop and Paill".[462] The details here seem to require some explanation. The "moveable Lectures" is a reference to a specific part of freemasonic ritual in which the Master relates a part of freemasonic history or lore to the gathered brethren, or the new initiate: as such, this does not impact on the use of space in ritual. However, the "Tape, tacks" and "Blazing Stars" are specific to the physical layout of the lodge. The *Dialogue* showed the addition of a blazing star to the centre of the lodge for specific ceremonies: the inclusion of it in this advertisement dates this innovation more accurately to the late 1720s.

The tape and tacks are a reference to the method of drawing the lodge (i.e. of setting out the floor plan prior to the start of ritual). Prior to the 1720s, the most common method of drawing the lodge was with the use of chalk and charcoal, very literally drawing on the ground the layout in which the ritual would take place: the reference to the "great indignity of the Mop and Paill" is a satirical hint that the method of cleaning away these chalk and charcoal drawings was no longer required. In the place of chalk and charcoal, is tape and tacks, in which nails or markers are positioned at strategic points, and a physical strip of fabric is strung between those points, creating a slightly more physical element to the lodge layout. It should be noted that this more accurate method of drawing the lodge may have been responsible for its change in shape: the effort of drawing a cross on the ground is not significantly greater than that required for drawing a rectangle. However, the tacking out of a more material shape is far easier if that shape is of a simpler nature, such as a rectangle. It may well therefore be the case that the changes in the structure of the lodge displayed in *A Dialogue* were at least in part the result of a matter of practicality, rather than of deliberate innovation for the sake of change.

It should also be noted that the change from chalk and charcoal to tape and nails does not seem to have occurred instantaneously throughout freemasonry. Although it is clear that this change had occurred in some lodges by the late 1720s, a work from 1738 details how the candidate for initiation is "led about the Room, round a Space mark'd out upon the Floor with

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[461] Albert Mackey, *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (London, 1914), Vol 1, pp79-80.
[462] *Daily Post* (London, 20 June 1729), issue 3042.

chalk, within which is drawn a sort of Representation, on two Columns, of the Ruins of Solomon's Temple".[463] Although this exposure details the workings of a lodge in Paris, and therefore could be argued to not be relevant to English freemasonry, the only such lodge known to have existed in 1738 is the one which had been founded during the mid 1720s by Jacobite exiles, and had been warranted by the Grand Lodge in 1732.[464] While this lodge may have originally inherited the method of drawing a lodge from its founders who, having mostly been in exile from Britain since 1716 may have not initially been aware of the change in method, the fact that it received a warrant from the Grand Lodge in 1732 would suggest that its practices met with the approval of the Grand Lodge. Thus it can only be concluded that either the change in method of drawing a lodge was not instigated by Desaguliers and the Grand Lodge; or that, if it was, they did not consider it an important enough change to forcibly impose on all lodges under their jurisdiction.

There are two small side issues that need to be mentioned here, related to the information contained in the *Daily Post* advertisement. The first of these is the question of using chalk to draw the lodge: David Harrison suggests that this older method of drawing the lodge with chalk is an indicator of a connection between freemasonry and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century magic rituals, which also used chalk in the casting of the circle.[465] However, this seems to ignore the far simpler explanation that chalk is a standard tool of operative stonemasons used for marking out images in the process of relief carving: this method dates back at least to ancient Egypt, and was still common amongst medieval stone masons.[466] Furthermore, chalk used in magic rituals during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was usually to form a circle,[467] rather than the equal armed cross of a freemasonic lodge. There is, therefore, no need to look to magical rituals for the origin of this method of drawing the lodge, as there is a far simpler explanation to be found amongst the tools of the medieval stonemasons' guilds.

The second issue is the use of the term "Moderns". This reference is frequently cited, not least by Knoop and Jones, as being the earliest example of the use of the term in reference to the London Grand Lodge, and as an indicator that the term which was later applied to the organisation in an attempt to distinguish it from the Antients Grand Lodge has its origin in the

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[463] Anon, *Masonry Farther Dissected* (London, 1738), p8.
[464] See p3.
[465] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p59.
[466] Peter Rockwell, *The Art of Stoneworking* (Cambridge, 1993), pp109-110.
[467] E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge, 1949), pp235-257 contains several mentions of chalk use in ritual magic.

1720s.[468] This would seem to be the result of a careless reading of the source. The advertisement is centred around the idea of a non-existent group of Antediluvian masons, a term used as a satirical reference to the claims of antiquity made by freemasonry. The simple use of Antediluvian implies an ancient origin for the mythical group, and as such, it would be natural to use the term "moderns" to refer to any freemason who was not made in the Antediluvian manner: i.e. all freemasons. The use of this term does not necessarily indicate dissatisfaction with the changes in ritual, nor a condemnation of the Grand Lodge form of freemasonry, but is rather a part of the satirical pretence of a more ancient form of freemasonry.

Returning to the use of space in freemasonic ritual, the 1729 advertisement also contains the earliest reference to the idea of the chequered black and white floor which appeared more commonly in freemasonic ritual during the late 1740s. The last paragraph of the advertisement claims that there will be an oration on the antiquity of various elements of freemasonry, one of which is "mosaick pavements".[469] It is, however, unclear exactly which of the items listed are directly used in the setting of freemasonry, and which are elements of freemasonic myth which are intended to form the mental impression of a lodge room in the minds of the participants, rather than the physical elements of the lodge: an idea which will be discussed in further detail later. For example, the reference to "bibles, compasses, squares", matches with the fact that these items were physically present during masonic rituals; however, "mossy graves" do not appear in the physical elements of ritual, but rather are a part of the mythology within ritual.

With direct evidence of the appearance of the chequered black and white floor in freemasonic ritual during the late 1740s, in the form of early tracing boards, it seems likely that this is a reference to the same style of flooring appearing, at least in theory, in lodges during the late 1720s. However, it is difficult to imagine how such a floor would have been a practical element of ritual. Throughout the 1720s and 1730s, freemasonic meetings took place almost wholly in private rooms in taverns and coffee houses, which were not intended for, or put aside for, the exclusive use of the lodge, or for freemasonry:[470] in such circumstances, it is difficult to see how it would be practical to have a black and white chequered floor for each ritual. The physical appearance of chequered floors would, therefore, seem to be improbable

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[468] Knoop, and Jones, *Short History of Freemasonry*.
[469] *Daily Post* (London, 20 June 1729), issue 3042.
[470] The various Engraved Lists of lodges produced by Grand Lodge list the meeting places of all contemporary lodges under Grand Lodge jurisdiction. The earliest appeared in 1729, with new, updated, lists appearing at intervals of between three and six years.

until the first, purpose built masonic lodge rooms or Temples appeared in the 1770s:[471] a situation which remained rare throughout the early nineteenth century, with only a handful of lodges meeting in purpose-built Temples as late as 1850.[472]

It is, however, possible that the concept of a black and white floor may have been intended to be present in the minds of those taking part in freemasonic ritual as early as 1729, even if not physically present in most lodges. Against this suggestion is the fact that none of the early catechisms make reference to such a floor pattern prior to Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* in 1730, thereby suggesting that, if such a pattern was intended to be part of the mental image of a lodge, it was not a significant one. Nonetheless, the reference to mosaic floors in the 1729 advertisement can not be ignored, and as such a brief discussion of the possible origins of such a floor seems sensible.

Tobias Churton has suggested that the origin of the chequered floor derives from a Rosicrucian root in freemasonry, and he has directly attributed the introduction of the pattern to Elias Ashmole.[473] The question of a Rosicrucian root has already been discussed in detail, but this particular element would seem to require some further discussion. Churton has highlighted that Ashmole's 1652 translation of the alchemical work *Theatricum Chemicum Britannicum*, is fronted with a picture which appears to resemble a freemasonic lodge: a black and white chequered floor, two pillars either side of a throne with an arch joining them. While Churton's observation of similarity is valid, the suggestion of one leading directly to the other is perhaps less satisfactory. The particular image within freemasonry that matches that of Ashmole's *Theatricum Chemicum* does not appear until the later eighteenth century, when freemasonic tracing boards first appear to have copied the image. These tracing boards are two dimensional representations of the set up of, and activity which takes place during, a specific freemasonic ritual, usually painted onto a wooden board. The images contained use metaphorical symbolism to remind those taking part what needs to happen during the ritual, and, to those who understand the symbolism, act as something of a guide book.

The fact that images drawn from Rosicrucian and alchemical texts appear in the late eighteenth century is not surprising. As already discussed, freemasonry began to embrace the idea of a Rosicrucian heritage during the late eighteenth century, and it therefore seems perfectly reasonable to see a move toward supposed Rosicrucian inspired imagery within

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[471] The earliest purpose-built freemasonic meeting place was Freemasons' Hall in London, which was purchased by the English Grand Lodge in 1775, <http://www.ugle.org.uk/ugle/the-history-of-freemasons-hall.htm> accessed 9 April 2009.
[472] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, pp187-188
[473] Tobias Churton, *Freemasonry: The Reality*, p38.

freemasonry at this time, particularly where elements already present in masonic ritual could be easily fitted into images which were perceived as having Rosicrucian roots. However, the origin of the chequered floor within freemasonry would seem to be from a completely different source.

In 1659, Samuel Lee produced a work on Solomon's Temple which included several drawings based on his ideas of the Temple.[474] While Lee's ideas do not seem to have caught the imagination of the public, being somewhat different to both the biblical description, and the popular works of Leon and Villapandus, there is evidence to suggest that they caught the attention of freemasonry. One particular image from Lee's work is an artistic impression of the Temple from above, with a cut-away effect, so that the floor of the Temple can be shown. This is the first example of such a drawing of the Temple of Solomon, and is particularly interesting from the freemasonic angle due to its similarity to a very early French tracing board, dated 1747, which shows the lodge set up for the third, or Master Mason degree. The two images are reproduced in figure 1,[475] and it is difficult to see how one could not have influenced the other: both depict a walled temple with a black and white chequered floor, along with a number of different levels approached by steps, and entered through doors of very similar design. The various doors in both images are positioned identically, with two lined up at the front of the Temple, one at either side in the centre, and a further door placed at the back in the centre. Even the tower used by Lee to represent the Sanctum Sanctorum is mirrored by the position, shape, and division of Hiram Abiff's grave on the tracing board. While the tracing board, naturally, includes a wealth of specific freemasonic symbolism which is not present in Lee's drawing, the influence of Lee's image on the representation of a freemasonic lodge seems undeniable.

Exactly when the idea of the chequered floor first appeared in freemasonry is not clear: the brief mention in the 1729 advertisement suggests the late 1720s, but it is a further eighteen years before there is any depiction of the floor, when it appears on the early tracing boards for the Master's degree. However, from these early indications, it seems clear that the origin of the image is a reference to the Temple of Solomon, rather than to any dubious association with Rosicrucianism.

A number of other minor changes seem to have occurred in the use of space in freemasonic ritual during the late 1720s. As highlighted in the drawings from *A Dialogue*, and implied by

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[474] Lee, *Orbis Miraculum*.
[475] See figure 1, p3.

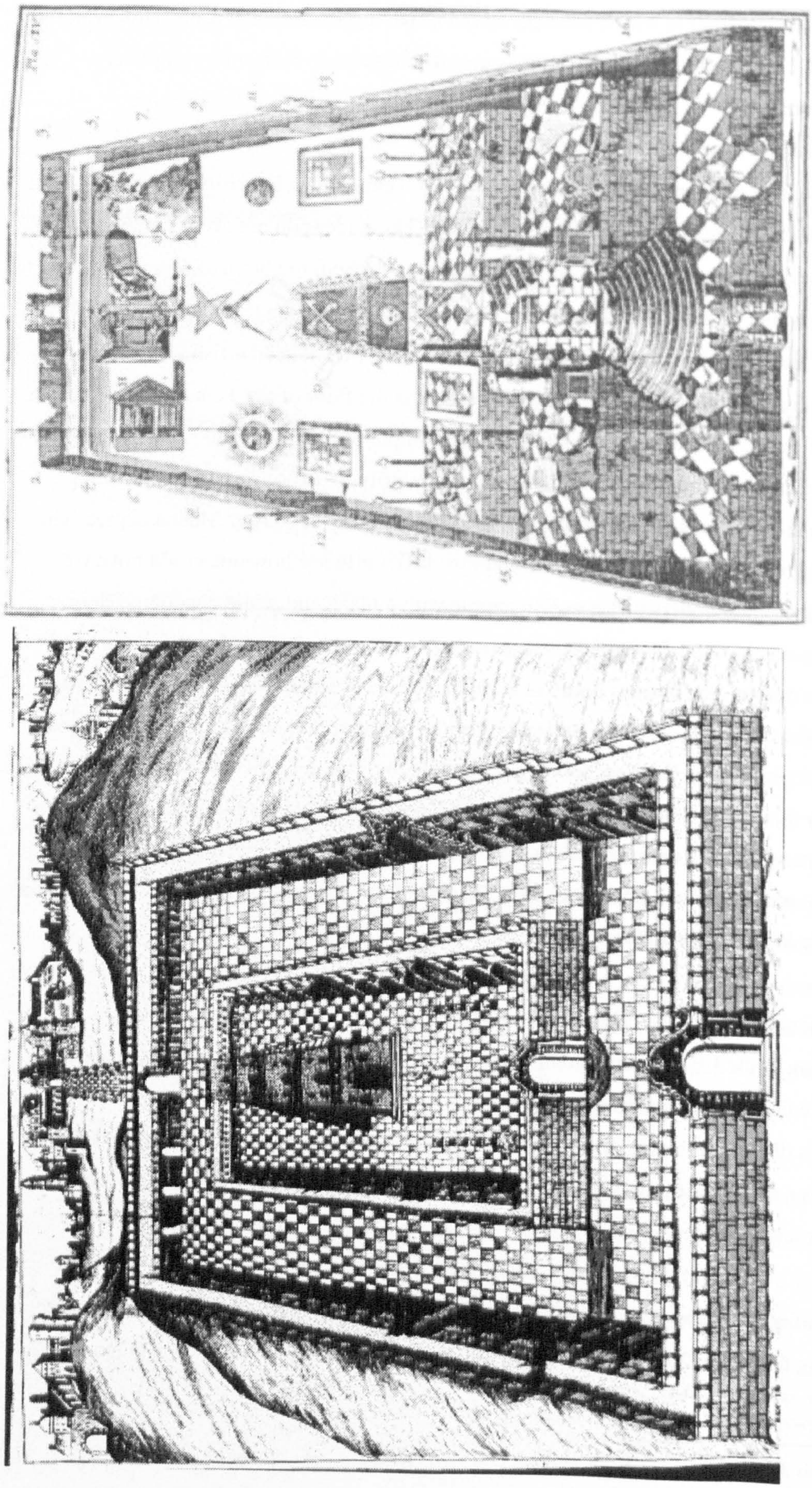

Figure 1: Samuel Lee's drawing of Solomon's Temple from *Orbis Miraculum*, 1659 (Left), and The Master's Degree tracing board from Les Franc-Maçons Erasés, 1747 (Right)

the 1729 advertisement, a number of new props begin to appear in freemasonic ritual including a number of items used in the building trade, such as Squares, Compasses, Ashlers, and Turnels: although, as will be discussed later, there is reason to question whether these were actually new innovations of the 1720s.

In addition to this, there is an implication from the drawings in *A Dialogue*, that there is a change in the number of participants: the "old lodge" drawing indicates five specific individuals: a Master, two Wardens, one Fellow-Craft, and one Entered Prentice. The "new lodge" drawing adds an additional Fellow-Craft and Entered Prentice, making a total of seven. However, the number of individuals seems to be in a state of flux throughout the early eighteenth century. One of the common questions in the catechisms is "what makes a true and perfect lodge?"[476] The answer varies considerably between catechisms, and for those between 1696 and 1730 no fewer than eight different answers can be found: in the Register House MS, the answer is seven Masters and five Entered Apprentices;[477] while the Sloane MS from around the same time gives a completely different response of "two Interprintices two fellow craftes and two Masters".[478] Some, such as the *Flying Post* exposure of 1723 include a set number of Wardens alongside the Masters, Fellow-Crafts, and Entered Apprentices,[479] while others, such as the *Grand Mystery* simply state a number of "Right and Perfect Masons",[480] and the Graham MS which gives "Any odd number from three to thirteen".[481] It seems possible that the individual answer in any catechism may be tailored to suit the lodge in which it was intended for use: thus, a smaller lodge may give a far smaller number of members for a "just and perfect lodge" than one with many more active members.

However the confusion of answers is interpreted, it seems clear that there was no agreed definition within freemasonry of the number of individuals required to perform a ceremony prior to the 1730s, with numbers for the minimum requirements ranging from as low as three in the Graham MS,[482] to as high as twelve in *The Mason's Examination.*[483] As such, the drawings from *A Dialogue* should not be taken to necessarily indicate a significant change in the number of individuals across freemasonry as a whole, but merely as an indicator of a change in the practice of the lodge attended by the writer.

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[476] For instance, Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32.
[477] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32.
[478] London, British Library, Sloane MS 3329.
[479] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.
[480] *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd* . Very few copies of this now exist. One is held by the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, A795 GRA.
[481] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p84.
[482] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p84.
[483] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.

Having looked at the number of individuals considered necessary to form a lodge for ritual purposes, it seems sensible to follow this with a look at the roles performed by those individuals in ritual. This is an area which is more difficult to assess than perhaps any other element of early eighteenth-century freemasonic ritual. The formation of the masonic catechisms simply gives questions and answers, without any indication as to who, within a lodge, is the appropriate party to ask the questions. From a practical point of view, it would seem at least possible that the Tyler, the officer who acts as a doorman and security guard to the lodge, would be responsible for ensuring those who entered into a lodge were properly qualified freemasons. However, in the earliest reference we have to any roles allocated to specified individuals, Carlile's 1825 exposure, the role of examining those present falls to the Wardens of the lodge during the opening ceremony.[484] This presents some difficulty: as already discussed, there is no evidence of the nature or extent of lodge opening ceremonies during the early eighteenth century, and with their apparent appearance during the late 1720s, it seems reasonable to suppose that these evolved considerably during the following century, thereby making it virtually impossible to argue a case for projecting back onto early eighteenth-century freemasonry any of the detailed information from the ceremonies detailed in 1825.

The direct evidence we do have concerns just one particular role in ritual: that of passing on information to the candidate in initiation ceremonies. The two earliest catechisms, the Register House MS, and the Chetwode Crawley MS include details of the "Forme of Giveing the Mason Word",[485] i.e. the ceremony in which the secret signs and grips of recognition are passed on to the initiate. In these particular ceremonies, three specific individuals are given as performing set roles. After the new initiate takes an oath of secrecy, "he is removed from the company, with the youngest mason, where after he is sufficiently frightened with 1000 ridiculous postures and grimmaces, He is to learn from the sd mason the manner of makeing his due guard whis is the signe and the postures and words of his entrie".[486] Once the initiate is returned to the main body of the lodge, "all the mason present whisper amongst themselves the [Mason] word beginning at the youngest till it come to the master mason who gives the word to the entered apprentice".[487] Similarly, when an Apprentice is to be made a Master or Fellow-Craft, he is taken out of the lodge by the youngest master mason who imparts the various postures and signs to him, before he is returned to the lodge and the whispering of the

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[484] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, pp2, 39
[485] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p33.
[486] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p33. The Chetwode Crawley MS is near enough identical, barring a few differences in spelling: see p36 of the same work.
[487] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p33.

Word, as detailed for the initiation of an Apprentice, takes place.[488] Thus three roles are allocated: the Master of the lodge is responsible for giving part of the secret information to new Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts; while the youngest Mason and the youngest Master provide the other part of that information to new Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts respectively.

Unfortunately, no other catechism or document from the early eighteenth century gives any detail of either the giving of the Mason Word to new initiates, or by whom the majority of roles in ritual are performed. Furthermore, both the Register House MS, and the Chetwode Crawley MS detail the practices of Scottish lodges at the turn of the century, and while it seems that much of what it contained in those catechisms matches well with the English catechisms such as the Sloane MS, it is not necessarily valid to assume that every part of Scottish practice was matched in English accepted lodges.

We are therefore left with no significant evidence of roles in the ritual of English accepted masonry during the early eighteenth century, and must rely purely on logical supposition for any argument. It is clear that masonic ritual was not only happening but was also evolving, but without any evidence either way, it is impossible to assess whether the roles were also developing, or whether these remained static.

Despite this problem of evidence, it is at least possible to determine the various titles given to individuals within lodges, and a few of the roles associated with those titles. The role which is perhaps easiest to define is that of Tyler: the member of a lodge who acts both as janitor and door keeper for that lodge. This individual is responsible, during freemasonic rituals, for ensuring that no non-masons observe the ceremony, and as such his role takes place outside the main body of the ritual. As a result of this, the role is often a paid position, and it is in this context that the term first appears in the realms of English accepted Freemasonry. In 1732, the minutes of the Grand Lodge record that a Brother Calcot was Tyler to several lodges, and that censuring him for certain irregularities could "deprive him of the best part of his subsistence".[489] While the title of Tyler does not appear in any document prior to 1732, this does not necessarily imply that the role did not exist prior to this point, and, considering the more secretive nature of Scottish operative lodges during the early seventeenth century,[490] it would seem very likely that the role, if not the name applied to it, would have been vital to those lodges.

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[488] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p34.
[489] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1731-1750, entry for 8 June 1732.
[490] Stevenson, *Origins*.

The two other titles which are relatively easy to deal with are those of Master and Warden. At least some detail of the roles performed by these individuals is detailed by Prichard's exposure.[491] However, since any exposure must be written by someone who has either no direct personal experience of freemasonry, or who has taken an oath not to reveal the secrets which are revealed, it is perfectly valid to question the reliability of such exposures. Those with no direct experience of the rituals they detail must work on hearsay, or, in some cases, pure imagination; those who have taken an oath not to reveal the secrets could quite possibly be producing exposures which detail something other than masonic ritual in order to sew confusion in the minds of the public. The latter scenario seems to be a possible explanation for what has become known as the "sham exposure" which appeared in *The Post Boy* in 1723.[492] However, Prichard's exposure appears to be genuine: although it is much more thorough than any previous document, the areas where it matches with the older manuscript catechisms are similar enough to suggest genuine knowledge. Furthermore, the exposure caused some considerable concern for the Grand Lodge, with the minutes of the meeting immediately after the publication of Prichard recording that, as a result of the exposure, they felt it necessary to introduce new, stringent rules to "prevent the Lodges being imposed upon by False Brethren or Imposters".[493] It would therefore seem that the information contained in Prichard's exposure can be accepted as a reliable source for details of freemasonic ritual in 1730.

The title of Warden was clearly in use by the middle of the seventeenth century, since one of the members of the lodge which initiated Elias Ashmole, Richard Penketh, is specifically named as such in 1646.[494] The detail of Penketh's role in the ritual is not recorded, but the existence of a Warden at this very early stage of English accepted freemasonry would make it seem likely that the role was well defined by the early eighteenth century. By the 1720s it is clear that lodges would have two Wardens, since both the "old lodge" and the "new lodge" in *A Dialogue* show two Wardens stood at the western end of the lodge during ritual. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Wardens were already defined as Senior Warden and Junior Warden prior to the 1720s, since those terms are used in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723.[495]

Several of the early eighteenth-century catechisms also make reference to Wardens, showing that they were in place as an important element of a freemasonic lodge prior to 1696, when

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[491] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected.*
[492] *Post Boy* (London, 26-28 December, 1723).
[493] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p153.
[494] Ashmole, *The Diary and Will of Elias Ashmole*, p26
[495] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p59.

the Register House MS refers to the three lights in the lodge as denoting "the master mason... the warden... the setter croft",[496] although it is noticeable that here the warden is singular, perhaps implying that at this point there was no requirement for two wardens. However, this statement is repeated in the slightly later Chetwode Crawley MS, which, as already discussed, seems to be based on the same original source as the Register House document, with the term "Wards",[497] implying a plural: it is therefore quite possible that the use of the term in its singular form in the earlier document is simply an error, and should not necessarily be taken as an implication that the number of Wardens increased during the last few years of the seventeenth century.

In nineteenth-century rituals, the Wardens were responsible for presenting candidates for initiation to the Master of the lodge, for testing any unknown brethren in regard to their freemasonic credentials, and for opening and closing the lodge,[498] and it would seem likely that their role was similar, at least as early as 1730. In Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, the following sets of questions and answers appears:

> Q. Who received you?
> A. A Junior Warden.
> Q. How did he dispose of you?
> A. He carried me up to the North-East Part of the Lodge, and brought me back again to the West and deliver'd me to the Senior Warden.
> Q. What did the Senior Warden do with you?
> A. He presented me, and shew'd me how to walk up (by three Steps) to the Master.[499]

> Q. Where stands your Wardens?
> A. In the West.
> Q. What's their Business?
> A. As the Sun sets in the West to close the Day, so the Wardens stand in the West... to close the Lodge and dismiss the Men from Labour, paying their Wages.[500]

> Q. When you came to the door of the middle Chamber, who did you see?
> A. A Warden.
> Q. What did he demand of you?
> A. Three Things.
> Q. What were they?
> A. Sign, Token, and a Word.[501]

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[496] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32.
[497] Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p37.
[498] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*.
[499] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, pp10-11.
[500] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p15.
[501] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p21.

Thus it would seem that, by 1730 at the very latest, the Warden's role was very similar to that found a century later.

The role of the Master of the Lodge is somewhat confused by the fact that the term "Master" is used in two different contexts within freemasonry. The first of these is in reference to the Master of the Lodge: i.e. the position which acts as Chairman in organisational meetings; and, at least in later periods, as something akin to a High Priest on ritual occasions.[502] However, a second use of the term in the early eighteenth century refers to those freemasons who are of a particular rank within freemasonry: at times interchangeable with the term Fellow-Craft; while at others a specific reference to one who has passed the third, or Master Mason degree. As such, there may be many Master Masons within a lodge, but only one Master of the Lodge at any one time. This provides a difficulty, as it can not be assumed that the term "Master" is always used in freemasonic documentation as a reference to the Master of the Lodge: although, the context in which the term is used usually makes the intention clear.

It stands to reason that the concept of a Master, as in the Chairman of a lodge, or master of ceremonies, must have appeared alongside the concept of formal meetings of stonemasons. However, the role of the Master in early eighteenth-century ritual is not given in any great detail by contemporary documentation. The fact that the Master is responsible for giving the Mason Word to new initiates has already been discussed. In addition to this, Prichard's exposure contains just two other useful reference to the Master of a Lodge in regard to ritual: he stands in the East, "as the Sun rises in the East and opens the Day, so the Master stands in the East... to open the Lodge and set his Men to Work".[503] The second reference is perhaps the most significant. During the "Fellow Craft's Degree", the following exchange takes place:

> Q. What doth that G denote?
> A. One that's greater than you.
> Q. Who's greater than I, that am a Free and Accepted Mason, the Master of a Lodge?[504]

This is the only reference in any document during the early eighteenth century that gives an indication of who is asking the questions in the various catechisms: in this particular instance, that role is clearly intended to be taken by the Master of the Lodge. The only comparable question in any of the manuscript catechisms comes from the Sloane MS, which has the

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[502] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*.
[503] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p15.
[504] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p22.

question: "Who is that on earth that is greater than a freemason?"[505] However, this should not necessarily be taken as an indication that there was a change within the roles during the first few decades of the eighteenth century, as the earlier reference could equally be applied to a Master of a Lodge as any other freemason. Thus, with only one reference giving an implication as to who was responsible for asking the questions, it is impossible to conclude whether any change took place.

The question over the use of the term "Master" within freemasonry, mentioned above, requires some further explanation, and is intrinsically linked with an area of freemasonic ritual that did undergo significant change during the early eighteenth century: the structure of the degrees of initiation. As has already been discussed, although the idea of two separate grades within freemasonry was clearly in existence by the start of the seventeenth century, the development of rituals of initiation for those grades seems to have occurred over a long period of time, with an initiation ritual for Fellow-Crafts appearing toward the end of the sixteenth century, and that for Entered Apprentices appearing only toward the end of the seventeenth century. Thus, at the start of the eighteenth century, there was a general scheme of two levels of initiation ceremony, with different elements of the Mason Word being given at each of those ceremonies.

However, this concept seems to have been in flux during the early years of the eighteenth century, with a system based on three rather than two degrees eventually emerging by the 1740s. However, the transition from a two degree system to a three degree, or trigradal, system is a complex one, and requires an in-depth look at the various catechisms, exposures, and official publications of freemasonry in order to understand the nature of that transition.

The two earliest manuscript catechisms seem to be clearly geared toward a two-degree system: the recognitory sections of both manuscripts question the respondent as to his knowledge of the secrets of an Entered Apprentice or a Fellow Craft, but do not imply a third degree, and the sections covering the giving of the Mason Word are similarly divided into two initiations.[506] In both of these documents, the terms "Fellow-Craft" and "Master" are synonymous in terms of the grades within freemasonry: thus, in the Register House MS, a true and perfect lodge is defined as being made up of seven Masters and five Entered Apprentices, while later on, the respondent is asked whether he is a Fellow Craft (rather than

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[505] Sloane MS 3329.
[506] Register House MS & Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp33-37.

a Master Mason).[507] Incidentally, in both documents there is a reference to a specific "master mason" who gives the Mason Word to the new initiate, but this is in the context of the Master of the Lodge, rather than a specific grade or degree.

However, there are indications of a three way split in masonic degrees during the early years of the eighteenth century. The Sloane MS is the earliest document to give such an indication. While the Scottish manuscripts of similar antiquity refer to the membership of a true and perfect lodge in terms of Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts only, the Sloane MS defines that membership as "two Interprintices two fellow Craftes and two Masters," clearly suggesting that there is a three way split in masonic grades in English freemasonry at this point.[508] Knoop, Jones, and Hamer argue that the Sloane MS does not imply that there are more than two sets of secrets (i.e. a two degree system),[509] but this seems to ignore the fact that while the manuscript refers to a salutation of "giving the masters or fellows grip", it goes on later to refer to "another they have called the masters word".[510] This specific reference to a Master's word (as opposed to a Master's or Fellow's word) would seem to imply that there was some element of secret information imparted to Masters but not to Fellow-Crafts. Nonetheless, this would still seem to be a very early indicator of a development toward a trigradal system: the only apparent difference between a Fellow-Craft and a Master Mason is knowledge of a single word, along with, possibly, the posture to be taken when giving that word. As such, it does not seem to signify a major difference between the two grades.

Although the Sloane MS suggests a very early point in the development of a trigradal system, it does not seem to have set a standard, with later catechisms, such as the Dumfries MS, once again demonstrating a clear distinction between two grades of freemason, by the inclusion of two Charges: an Apprentice Charge, and a general Charge which would appear to be relevant to fully qualified masons.[511] It could reasonably be argued that the difference thus far shown is one of geography: the three earliest documents which suggest a two degree system are all of Scottish origin; whereas the Sloane MS has an English provenance. It would therefore make sense from these four documents to suggest that the trigadal system was originating in England during the early years of the eighteenth century, but not penetrating Scottish practice until sometime later. However, if this were the case, then it would be reasonable to expect further indications in early eighteenth-century English documentation of a trigradal system: something which is lacking until well into the 1720s.

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[507] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32.
[508] Sloane MS 3329.
[509] Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p29.
[510] Sloane MS 3329.
[511] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp52-55.

One of the key indicators of the lack of a trigradal system during the early Grand Lodge years of English freemasonry is Anderson's *Constitutions*, and in particular the various Charges detailed in that work. The fourth charge is particularly revealing: in 1723 this includes the statement that an Apprentice will be made a "Fellow-Craft in due time... that so, when otherwise qualify'd, he may arrive to the honour of being the Warden, and then the Master of the Lodge".[512] The Charge goes on to state that "No brother can be a Warden until he has pass'd the part of a Fellow-Craft; not a Master until he has acted as Warden".[513] However, by 1738 this Charge has changed considerably: now, an individual may "become an Enter'd Prentice, or a Free-Mason of the lowest degree, and upon his due improvements a Fellow-Craft and a Master-Mason... The Wardens are chosen from among the Master-Masons, and no Brother can be a Master of a Lodge till he has acted as Warden".[514] There are a number of other examples where similar changes have appeared in the Charges: thus, Charge five states in 1723 that "the most expert of the Fellow-Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed Master, or Overseer of the Lord's Work",[515] but by 1738 this has changed to: "A Master-Mason only must be the Surveyor or Master of Work".[516]

There has been a clear development in Grand Lodge freemasonry between 1723 and 1738: in 1723, the Fellow-Craft degree is clearly the only qualification beyond that of the Apprentice, while fifteen years later, a further degree of Master Mason exists, which has replaced Fellow-Craft as the highest rank within freemasonry, although the rank of Fellow-Craft remains as an interim step between that of Apprentice and Master Mason.

Furthermore, evidence from the earliest printed catechism seems to match with the idea of a two grade system still being common practice in English freemasonry during the 1720s. The *Flying Post* exposure of April 1723 is the earliest example of an exposure. It makes references to how "to know an entred Apprentice", and "to know an entred Fellow", but does not imply at any point that there is a further level of masonic initiatory hierarchy.[517] Similarly, The *Daily Journal* exposure of 1730 clearly implies a two degree system: in explanation of one of the questions and answers in the catechism, the writer states "When you are first made a Mason, you are only entered Apprentice; and till you are made a Master, or, as they call it,

[512] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p51.
[513] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p52.
[514] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p145.
[515] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p52.
[516] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1738), p146.
[517] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.

pass'd the Master's Part, you are only an enter'd Apprentice".[518] This particular exposure was of particular concern to the Grand Lodge who, following its publication, agreed upon the institution of "several rules... to be observed... for security against all open and secret enemies to the craft".[519] As such it seems reasonable to consider this exposure to be of reasonable accuracy.

Therefore, as late as 1730 there is reason to suppose that lodges under the Grand Lodge were still practicing a two grade system of initiation. However, there is also evidence that the trigradal system was operating in tandem with the two grade one. As already mentioned, the Sloane MS is an early indication of a three-way split within the freemasonic degrees, and this is joined by the Trinity MS from 1711: a very short catechism comprising just ten questions. The response given to the question "Wt makes a full, & perfect lodge?" is "three masters, 3 fellow craftsmen and 3 enterprentices".[520] While it could be argued that this catechism, as its nomenclature implies, comes from Ireland and may not have any bearing on English freemasonry, the same can not be said for the Graham MS of 1726, which seems to come from York.[521] This particular catechism contains a reference to the candidate "being entered passed and raised and Conformed by 3 severall Lodges".[522] This reference to three different levels (entered, passed, and raised) taking place at three distinct ceremonies clearly indicates a trigradal system. Interestingly, another relatively early reference to the trigadal system also comes from York in 1726, when, in his speech to the Grand Lodge of All England at York, the Junior Grand Warden of that Grand Lodge refers to "three in Parts in four of the whole world might then be divided into E-P-F-C & M-M". There can be no doubt that the six letters are a reference to the three degrees of Entered Prentice, Fellow-Craft and Master Mason. It is worth noting that both of these references from York to a trigradal system occur four years before the publication of the *Daily Journal* exposure which, as discussed above, indicates a two degree system.

Just four months after the *Daily Journal* published its exposure, Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* was published. For the first time, this includes a very explicit breakdown of freemasonic degrees into a trigradal system, with separate sections detailing the "Enter'd Prentice's Degree", the "Fellow-Craft's Degree", and "The Master's Degree".[523] This seems to present something of a problem, since both Prichard's exposure, and that from the *Daily*

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[518] *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), No. 2998.
[519] MS Minutes of English Grand Lodge, 1723-1731, p148.
[520] Trinity College MS (1711), printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p63.
[521] Douglas Knoop, *The Mason Word* (Private Circulation, 1938), p19.
[522] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp84-85.
[523] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected.*

Journal proved of some concern to the Grand Lodge, and would therefore seem to indicate something of usual practice for lodges under its jurisdiction. Considering their dates of publication are just four months apart, there would seem to be only two ways to reconcile their differing views on the lodge system: that the Grand Lodge changed from a two degree to a three degree system during that four month period, and that Prichard's exposure was written entirely during that same four month period after the changes had been communicated to all the lodges; or, that different lodges under the auspices of the Grand Lodge were practicing both a two grade and a three grade system simultaneously. The first of these seems particularly unappealing: it seems unlikely that the Grand Lodge could have constructed such a significant change, and communicated it to all the various lodges in such a short space of time. However, the suggestion that different lodges were practicing different forms of freemasonry under Grand Lodge auspices seems an equally odd solution: nonetheless, this suggestion is not without supporting evidence.

The possibility of different lodges practicing different initiation ceremonies was highlighted by Knoop in 1939. He noticed that there were a number of examples of lodges still using only two degrees of initiation after 1730. Knoop highlighted that the minutes of the Old Lodge at Lincoln as late as 1735 detail only two degrees: those of Apprentice and Master; while as late as 1765 in Dundee the same system seemed to be applied, although it should be noted that the Dundee Lodge was under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, rather than that of England. In one particularly late example, a lodge at Wapping was still practicing just two initiatory degrees as late as 1808.[524] The Grand Lodge minutes make no reference to any concerns over the methods used by any lodges with regard to initiation. Thus there would seem to be either no specific regulation from the Grand Lodge regarding the use of a trigradal system or, if there was such a regulation (and there is no record of one existing), lodges were clearly happy to ignore it, and the Grand Lodge was happy to allow them to do so.

Furthermore, the two documents which give more specific indications of changes within freemasonic practice, *A Dialogue*, and the 1729 advertisement, do not make any reference to a change from a two grade to a three grade system in any way. Both these documents indicate a concern at changes introduced by the Grand Lodge, and yet, the *Dialogue*, despite highlighting a number of differences between what it calls "Old Masons" and "New Masons", gives no indication of a change in the number of initiatory degrees.[525] Similarly, the newspaper advertisement which specifically complains of "Innovations... lately introduced"

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[524] Douglas Knoop, *Pure Antient Masonry* (Frome, 1939), p53.
[525] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.

makes no reference at all to a change from a two degree to a three degree system.[526] Considering the available evidence, it seems impossible to conclude that this particular change was initiated by the Grand Lodge, or by Desaguliers, and as such Harrison's statement that Desaguliers designed the third, or Master Mason degree,[527] must be dismissed.

The development of a trigradal system would seem to have been a slow process of gradual and natural change, rather than the intentional decision of any individual or organisation. Considering the lack of any governing body for freemasonry prior to the 1720s, it seems quite reasonable to suppose that innovations in one lodge would spread gradually, as masons from that lodge discussed those ideas with other freemasons. Those ideas would then gradually change, as is the nature of any orally transmitted tradition. It may well be that the indication of a trigradal system in the Sloane MS is entirely unrelated to that in the Trinity MS, but clearly the first two decades of the eighteenth century were seeing a gradual move by at least some lodges to a trigradal system. More significant is the fact that the first two suggestions of a trigradal system in the 1720s appear in York, with one specifically linked to the York Grand Lodge. Considering the antagonism concerning jurisdiction between the two Grand Lodges during the 1720s,[528] it would seem highly unlikely that either the Grand Lodge would have adopted a significant innovation in ritual which had originated with the other, and it would therefore seem most likely that both Grand Lodges simply began to adapt to a practice which was already becoming widespread by the mid 1720s, but was still not being practiced universally as late as the mid 1730s.

The most sensible view of the development of the trigradal system is not one of a "top-down" roll out from the Grand Lodge, but rather of a "bottom-up" transfer from individual lodge practice which gradually infiltrated the governing bodies. Furthermore, it should be seen not as a new innovation developed rapidly in the 1720s, but rather as a continuation of the slow but steady development of initiatory systems which had been in progress since the start of the seventeenth century, and which would continue with the development of the Royal Arch degree in the mid 1740s[529] which is considered within freemasonry to be the completion of the Master's Degree,[530] and in the later eighteenth century with the development of what are sometimes referred to as side degrees, such as those of the Scottish Rite.

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[526] *Daily Post* (London, 20 June 1729), issue 3042.
[527] Harrison, *Masonic Enlightenment*, p95.
[528] See p3.
[529] Fifield Dassigny, and William James Hughan, *Enquiry and Introductory Sketch on Royal Arch Masonry 1743-1893* (Leeds, 1893)..
[530] Bernard E. Jones, *Freemasons' Guide and Compendium* (London, 1979), pp19-30.

Considering the significance of the mythical history of freemasonry within masonic ritual, it is something of a surprise that there has been no serious academic attempt to tackle the question of changes within the mythological element of freemasonic ritual during the formative period of early Grand Lodge freemasonry. The only attempt of any sort to tackle this question has been that of freemasonic stalwarts Knoop and Jones. However, their work in the area suffers from two problems: firstly, the fact that they have not made a concerted effort to investigate freemasonic ritual from the perspective of its mythological roots, but rather have tackled the question partially in a number of different works; and secondly, that their conclusions tend to be a little over-simplified. As an example, in Knoop's solo effort, *The Mason Word*, he highlights that the Graham MS from 1726 and Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* from 1730 detail different central mythological themes, and thereby conclude that the change in the core myth of freemasonry took place between those dates.[531] Similarly, in *Begemann's History of Freemasonry*, Knoop and Jones argue that 1730 is a fundamental dividing line in the history of freemasonic ritual.[532] As will be shown, the nature of changes within the mythical basis of freemasonic ritual is by no means so simple.

It seems sensible to start with a look at the most common element of freemasonic mythological history from amongst the early eighteenth-century sources: that of the building of Solomon's Temple. Considering the popularity of this particular element of the biblical narrative amongst the populace of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, it is perhaps not surprising to find references to this particular story appearing in virtually every document concerning freemasonry during the early eighteenth century, including every known catechism, every reliable exposure, and every official publication of the Grand Lodge. In some of these, such as *The Whole Institution*, that reference is no more than a brief mention of Jachin and Boaz,[533] the pillars which were placed at the entrance to Solomon's Temple in the biblical story, but in the majority of cases at least some greater level of detail is included.

The earliest catechisms do not go into a great deal of detail concerning the relevance of Solomon's Temple to freemasonic ritual, but in those, and in later catechisms, a common question and answer are: "Q. Where wes the first lodge. An: in the porch of Solomons Temple".[534] It is clear that, from before the start of the eighteenth century, Solomon's Temple had an important place in freemasonic ritual: a place which, at least as far as freemasonic

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[531] Knoop, *Mason Word*, pp20-23.
[532] Knoop and Jones, *Begemann's History*, p7.
[533] London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, *The Whole Institution of Masonry* MS (1724), BE 206 DIA.
[534] Register House MS (1696), printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32. The same question and answer are found in Chetwode Crawley MS (1700), *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), *The Institution of Free-Masons* MS (c.1725), *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), amongst others.

history goes, seems to date to some considerably earlier time, as demonstrated by Stevenson's investigations into the *Old Charges*.[535]

However, although there is clearly a long-standing stream of consciousness concerning Solomon's Temple within freemasonry which pre-dates the early eighteenth century, there does appear to be some considerable development of this element of freemasonic mythology during the first few decades of that century. The first indication of a development occurs in Scotland, around 1710, in the Dumfries MS. This document is somewhat unusual with regard to masonic catechisms, and does not fall into any easily discernible pattern with the other documents of the same nature: it is considerably longer than any other MS catechism, has a far more evangelical Christian nature than any other catechism, and has a variety of corruptions in the text which would appear to be either copyist errors, or perhaps some corruption through oral transmission. Thus, while many comparable catechisms refer to "Templum Domini", the Dumfries MS refers to "Temple of Diana"; and a reference to an individual known in other catechisms as "Naymus Grecus", appears in the Dumfries MS as "Minus Greenatus".[536] However, despite these corruptions, the document is of particular use in assessing freemasonic mythology and ritual due to the fact that it covers the subject far more comprehensively than any other manuscript from the period.

The Dumfries MS is of particular significance as it includes the earliest example within freemasonic ritual of a reference to Hiram, the chief architect of Solomon's Temple. Although Hiram is mentioned several times, the information concerning him does not extend greatly on the biblical narrative. However, Hiram's importance to freemasonry is made clear: "the world hath not peduced his equal to this day he was a master masson of exquisit knouledge & generositie",[537] in addition to a comment concerning "the Rules of Euclidie & hiram & other famous worthies".[538] Considering that Hiram does not appear in any freemasonic context prior to the Dumfries MS, it is perhaps surprising that he is mentioned as many as six times in that document, and that he is portrayed as being so significant to freemasonic mythology. Similarly, although Solomon's Temple seems to have had a long association with freemasonry, the Dumfries MS takes that association far further than any previous document, and includes a section not found in any other document, detailing a series of thirteen questions and answers concerning freemasonic understanding of the Temple.[539]

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[535] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp20-25.
[536] A more thorough account of the various corruptions can be found in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p44.
[537] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p50.
[538] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p51.
[539] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp58-60.

It could be argued that, since the Dumfries MS is considerably more detailed than any other manuscript from the period, the additional details concerning Hiram and Solomon's Temple are simply those elements which have been included here, but left out of other documents. While this might explain some elements, and perhaps the level of depth into which the manuscript goes concerning Solomon's Temple, such an argument does not provide a satisfactory explanation as to why Hiram should suddenly appear as such an important figure. There would appear to be two possible answers to this conundrum: that at some point during the early eighteenth century, Hiram was introduced as a significant element into freemasonic myth and ritual; or, that Hiram had been a significant part of freemasonic ritual for some time, but the secrecy concerning certain elements of ritual had resulted in his being left out of the various documents which predate that from Dumfries. Indeed, the latter argument seems to be the one implied by Stevenson, who argues that the ritual re-enactment of the legend of Hiram's death seems to fit in with statements in the earlier catechisms concerning attempts to frighten the new initiate "with 1000 ridicolous postures and grimmaces",[540] and with those referring to the key to the lodge laying below a green divot,[541] which Stevenson argues must be a reference to a grave.[542] While Stevenson's argument does not seem unreasonable, it does not adequately explain why Hiram is completely absent, at least explicitly, from these earlier documents.

The next element to appear in the developing myth of Solomon's Temple, and of Hiram, is that of the architect's death. This story does not appear in explicit form until 1730, and the publication of Prichard's exposure.[543] The story of Hiram's death, as presented by Prichard, is quite detailed, and the most significant of those details bear repeating here. Hiram, according to Prichard, was killed by three Fellow-Crafts who wanted to obtain from Hiram the secrets of the Master Mason degree. The three Fellow-Crafts positioned themselves at the three doors to the Temple, and when Hiram came to leave the Temple, he was accosted by each of them in turn, with each one striking him, the third and final blow proving fatal. After a search, Hiram's body is found in a mossy grave, and the masons who find him first attempt to raise him by grasping his fingers, but when the skin comes away, they try to raise him "by the five points of fellowship" with more success. Hiram's body is then re-buried in the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Temple.[544]

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[540] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p33.
[541] Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p38.
[542] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp161 & 145.
[543] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*.
[544] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, pp26-29.

Although Prichard is the first to detail this story, there are a significant number of documents from the previous three decades which give an indication that at least some elements of this story were in play in freemasonic ritual some time previous to 1730. As already highlighted, the early references to the key to the lodge laying under a green divot match well with the description of Hiram's grave given by Prichard: "his Covering was green Moss and Turf".[545] Furthermore, the Dumfries MS, while not mentioning Hiram's death and burial, does include a question "where layes ye master", with the response, "in a stone trough under ye west window looking to ye east waiting for ye son rising to sett his men to work",[546] which would seem to imply a somewhat oblique reference to Hiram's death.

However, it would be unwise to assume that these references are necessarily to the death of Hiram, as there is another story related to death in early eighteenth-century freemasonic ritual which could equally be applied to these references: that of Noah. The appearance of a story concerning the attempted resurrection of Noah in the Graham MS of 1726 is something of an oddity. While the more thorough mythical history of freemasonry as presented by Anderson in 1723 included a section on Noah as a Master Mason, who used geometry to build the Ark,[547] Noah does not form a major part of any of the catechisms, except for the Graham MS. However, while the story of Noah's death is not detailed, that of the resurrection attempts by his sons is, and the story is, to all intents and purposes, identical to the story of Hiram detailed by Prichard four years later. In this story, Noah's sons, wishing to obtain the secrets of their dead father, attempt to raise him from his grave, firstly by taking hold of his finger, which comes away, and then by supporting the body "ffoot to ffoot knee to knee Breast to breast Cheeck to cheeck and hand to back" (i.e. the five points of fellowship).[548]

The story of the attempted resurrection of Noah is so similar to that of the attempted resurrection of Hiram from just four years later that it seems impossible that the two are not related, either through being drawn from the same original source, or through one informing the other. Thus, the question arises as to what that connection is, and how the two fit into freemasonic ritual. Knoop presented the argument that the Noah story of 1726 was the original resurrection story within freemasonry, and that this was changed during the mid 1720s to replace Noah as the main protagonist with Hiram.[549] Unfortunately, as already suggested, Knoop's argument seems overly simplistic, and fails to take into account all the evidence available. Firstly, the circumstantial evidence already cited from earlier in the

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[545] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p28.
[546] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p60.
[547] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p3.
[548] Graham MS (1726), printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p87.
[549] Knoop, *Mason Word*, pp20-23.

eighteenth century matches far better with the Hiram story than that of Noah: the green divot is more akin to the green turf mentioned as covering Hiram, than to the non-descript grave in which Noah is found; the master's body laying in the Temple from the Dumfries MS must surely be a reference to Hiram, since there would be no reason to link Noah with the Temple, nor would it seem reasonable to argue that Noah, who is entirely absent from this manuscript, would be the master referred to over Hiram, who is featured a number of times by name. Thus, these early eighteenth-century references appear more likely to be references to a myth of Hiram's death and burial than that of Noah.

Furthermore, there is a further reference in a document prior to 1726 which would seem to imply the existence of the story of Hiram's death. The reference is not in itself conclusive, and requires some explanation: in 1723, the *Flying Post* exposure contains the earliest reference to three knocks: in this particular document, it states that "When you would enter a Lodge, you must knock three times at the Door, and they'll challenge you".[550] While the idea of three knocks on the lodge door is clearly a long way from the three blows which killed Hiram Abiff, *A Dialogue* provides a link. In the explanation which follows the dialogue it is stated that "the reason for those three Knocks... is from Hiram the Grand Master in Solomon's Temple. Being murdered by his three Prentices and was dispatched by the third Blow the last Prentice gave him".[551] It is, of course, quite possible that this explanation was simply a later connection applied to already existent freemasonic myth, or even that it was the imagination of the individual writer. However, no other explanation is given in any other early eighteenth-century source, and it is noticeable that Prichard's exposure includes the exchange: "Q. How was you entered? A. By three great knocks", which would seem to be a clever double reference to both the practical entry to the lodge, and to the "great knocks" which killed Hiram.[552]

While the evidence is not conclusive, it does seem most likely that at least some elements of the Hiramic myth of death, burial, and attempted resurrection, were active parts of freemasonic ritual from at least the earliest years of the eighteenth century. Under these circumstances, it would appear that the Noah story which appears in the Graham MS should be treated as anomalous: while the details match the Hiram story, it appears that the Hiram story existed both before and after 1726 when this document was written. Considering that, as shown, elements of freemasonic ritual were undergoing a process of natural development during the early eighteenth century, and that those developments tended to be innovations of

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[550] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.
[551] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.
[552] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p10.

individual lodges which then became popular, the most likely explanation for the Noah story in the Graham MS is that it was a variant on the Hiram story, used by the lodge to which the writer, Thomas Graham, was attached, and which simply proved to be unpopular, and thereby failed to replace the Hiram story in freemasonic ritual.

This does not, however, allow a great deal of insight into the development of the mythology behind freemasonic ritual during the early eighteenth century. It would seem that at least the core myth, that of Solomon's Temple remained solidly the basis for most freemasonic ritual during the early eighteenth century. It is possible that the myth of Hiram, associated with that of Solomon's Temple, was already fully formed at the start of the eighteenth century, and certainly elements of it seem to have been in place, despite the relatively late appearance of Hiram himself in any documentation. However, it seems more likely that the myth was still developing at the start of the century.

The earliest documents suggest that there may have been something akin to the mossy grave, with references to the green divot under which the key to the lodge, or the secrets of the Master Mason, are hidden. In addition to this, the idea that Hiram was re-buried inside the Temple seems to have appeared by 1710, as witnessed by the reference in the Dumfries MS. The concept of the death of Hiram by three knocks does not seem to have any indication prior to the reference to three knocks on the lodge room door in 1723. Even if this reference is discounted, the manner of Hiram's death clearly was a part of freemasonic mythology by 1729 when a reference to "The Widow's Son kill'd by the Blow of a Beetle" appears in the satirical advertisement in the *Daily Post.*[553]

By 1726 there is a clear reference, in the Graham MS, to the two attempted methods of raising the dead Master Mason: firstly by the gripping of a finger which comes away, and then by the more successful method utilising the five points of fellowship; although this particular story has Noah rather than Hiram as the main protagonist.[554] However, it may be possible to date this element of the story considerably earlier: the five points of fellowship appear in the majority of manuscript catechisms, and although these points are not always the same, they do always appear as a significant element of the recognitory rituals from the very earliest catechisms.[555] At no point in these earlier catechisms is any explanation given as to what these five points represent, and at no point is any alternative explanation given. It therefore

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[553] *Daily Post* (London, Friday 20 June 1729), issue 3042.
[554] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p87.
[555] For example, Register House MS, Chetwode Crawley MS: printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp32 & 38 amongst many others.

seems that the explanation of the Graham MS, and of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* may well be relevant prior to the early eighteenth century. If this is the case, and there seems no reason to doubt it, then the idea of an attempted resurrection would seem to pre-date the first few years of the eighteenth century.

By 1730 the various elements of the story have all come together to form the full story of Hiram's death, burial, attempted resurrection, and re-burial in the Sanctum Sanctorum, as witnessed by the detail provided by Prichard. While it is impossible to reach a comprehensive conclusion regarding the development of the Hiram myth, it seems likely that some development did occur during the early eighteenth century. The core of the myth seems to have been in existence by the start of the eighteenth century, but other elements seem to have appeared during the following three decades: Hiram's re-burial in the Sanctum Sanctorum dating from the first decade of the eighteenth century; and the death of Hiram by three knocks during the early to mid 1720s. As with many other elements of freemasonic ritual, it would seem that the mythological basis was still developing both before and after the emergence of the London Grand Lodge, and as such the suggestion that the Grand Lodge instigated the changes does not seem supportable.

The mythology of Solomon's Temple, and that of Hiram attached to it within freemasonry, also informed the use of various elements of symbolism in freemasonic ritual. At least during the early part of the eighteenth century, this symbolism tended not to take the form of direct visual imagery, but rather images that were formed in the minds of the members of the lodge during the ritual. Particular elements concerning the lodge room, such as the mosaic pavement, and three windows at specific points, would have been impossible to achieve before the late eighteenth-century advent of the purpose-built masonic temple. Freemasonic ritual was replete with symbolism, and the idea that anything but a small minority of these symbols would have been represented physically would have ended up with the lodge requiring so many accoutrements as to make any ritual impractical. Furthermore, a 1738 exposure explains that the initiate is "led about the Room, round a space mark'd out upon the Floor with Chalk, within which is drawn a sort of representation, on two Columns, of the Ruins of Solomon's Temple. On two sides of this mark'd Space, are also figured out with Chalk a large J, and as large a B".[556] This exposure goes into some detail concerning the lodge layout, and the only reference to any physical element to the symbolism is to "three lighted Tapers".[557]

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[556] *Masonry Farther Dissected*, pp8-9.
[557] *Masonry Farther Dissected*, p9.

The symbolism inspired by the story of Solomon's Temple appears to have mostly taken the form of the twin pillars of Jachin and Boaz which, according to the biblical story, were set up at the entrance to the porch of the Temple.[558] However, reference to these pillars does not appear at all in the three earliest catechisms. Instead, they first appear in the Dumfries MS from c.1710, and could arguably have been included as a result of the more thorough nature of this document when compared with the older catechisms, along with its much more in depth concern with Solomon's Temple, particularly as the references to the pillars do not appear in the catechism itself, but rather in a section at the end of the manuscript detailing a masonic coat of arms.[559] While Solomon's Temple is mentioned both explicitly, as the home to the first lodge,[560] and implicitly with references to the green divot and graves discussed earlier, in most of the early catechisms, it is not until 1723 that the first explicit reference to Jachin and Boaz appears in a catechism itself. In the *Flying Post* exposure of that year, the question concerning the first Lodge receives the answer: "In Solomon's Porch; the two Pillars were called Jachin and Boaz".[561] Interestingly, after this point, the pillars become something of a standard in freemasonic symbolism and ritual, appearing in virtually every catechism, both manuscript and printed, after that date.

However, Solomon's Temple, and the associated story of Hiram, can be seen as the main influence in only a relatively small amount of freemasonic symbolism, and there are a number of other roots to the symbolism apparent in early eighteenth-century freemasonry. The roots of these various symbols can be split into four approximate categories: mythological; natural phenomena; tools of operative masons; and architectural features and concepts. The mythological features are almost exclusively connected to the story of Hiram: the pillars of Jachin and Boaz; the grave; the green divot; and the sprig of acacia, which appears only in Prichard as far as written evidence goes, but, as highlighted by Harrison, appears on a number of masonic gravestones from the period.[562] In freemasonic myth, a sprig of acacia was placed at the head of Hiram's grave.[563]

The architectural features which inform freemasonic symbolism have something of a cross over with the mythological: particularly with regard to the use of pillars. Two particular pairs of pillars appear in freemasonic symbolism: as already discussed, one of those pairs is that of Jachin and Boaz, with their connection to Solomon's Temple. However, another pair of

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[558] 1 Kings 7:21.
[559] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p61.
[560] For example, Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p37.
[561] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.
[562] Harrison, *Enlightenment*, p86.
[563] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p28.

pillars appears somewhat less frequently. These pillars were, according to the freemasonic mythology, built by the children of Lamach, and had inscribed upon them all the knowledge of the seven sciences; particularly that of geometry, which is central to the craft of the stonemason. These two pillars were built in order to survive the destruction of the world, which it was predicted would occur through either fire or water, and as such one was made from marble which would not burn, and the other from "leathier" which would not sink,[564] Although these do not appear frequently, they are mentioned in both the Dumfries MS, and in Anderson's *Constitutions*,[565] which would seem to suggest that they had some significance to freemasonic mythology.

One of the later elements of symbolism to appear in freemasonic ritual seems to be that of the letter G, which, when it does appear, is intrinsically linked with the science of geometry: the core science associated with operative masonry, architecture, and thereby adopted by accepted freemasonry. The first direct reference to the letter G, although with no further explanation, appears in the 1729 advertisement,[566] and this is rapidly followed by an appearance, along with a much fuller explanation, in Prichard's exposure. In Prichard's explanation, the letter G not only represents the science of geometry, but also stood "in the midst of Solomon's Temple", thereby providing a mythological basis for its inclusion alongside an architectural link.[567] It is possible that this late development might indicate the influence of the involvement of a large number of scientists, and learned individuals, such as Desaguliers, Stukeley, and Folkes, on freemasonic ritual: with a greater focus on scientific elements starting to seep into the lodges. However, it should be noted that the diagram of the "old lodge" from *A Dialogue* marks the centre of the lodge with the letter G surrounded by a diamond shape, and as one of the elements of a lodge that has not changed under what it refers to as "the Desaguliers regulations".[568] It would therefore seem more likely that the importance of the letter G was already, very literally, central to freemasonic ritual sometime before the advent of changes which the author of the *Dialogue* associated with Desaguliers. Unfortunately, with no further evidence, it is impossible to assess to any greater accuracy the provenance of the letter G as a part of freemasonic symbolism.

Two other particular architectural features appear in the masonic catechisms and exposures. The first of these, the "mosaick pavement", has already been discussed. The other is the

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[565] Anderson, *Constitutions* (1723), p3.
[566] *Daily Post* (London, Friday 20 June 1729), issue 3042.
[567] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p22.
[568] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.

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[567] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p22.
[568] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.

concept of an arch. This concept first appears in an exposure from 1724,[569] and the brief mention of the Arch being derived from architecture is repeated in another exposure from 1725, although here a second question adds another dimension: "What doth it resemble? The Rainbow".[570] The association of the arch with the natural phenomenon of the rainbow is repeated, this time without the reference to architecture, in the 1730 *Daily Journal* exposure.[571] It is possible that these references to an arch as a specific symbolic element in freemasonic ritual during the 1720s indicate the early stages of development of the Royal Arch degree which appeared in the mid 1740s, with the symbolism of the arch gradually becoming more prominent as ritual developed. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the arch continued to grow in prominence within freemasonic symbolism, as it does not appear again during the 1730s, and it may therefore be that this was more of a fashionable innovation in the late 1720s which then simply disappeared; with the concept of the Royal Arch having an entirely different root.

Not surprisingly for an organisation which traces its roots to the old guilds of working stonemasons, early eighteenth-century freemasonic symbolism included a large number of specialist objects and tools associated with stonemasonry. The earliest mention of such occur in the earliest catechisms: the Register House MS refers to the Perpend Esler, the Square Pavement, and the Broad Oval;[572] while the Chetwode Crawley MS has similar terms of Perpendester, Square Pavement, and Broked-mall.[573] In the same part of the catechism, the Sloane MS refers to a Square Pavement, a Blazing Star, and a Danty Tassley.[574] While the Square Pavement is clearly common to all three early catechisms, the other terms require some investigation.

Clearly the Sloane MS has an innovation, presumably, considering the provenance of the three documents, initially peculiar to English practice, which sees the Broad Oval replaced with a Blazing Star. However, the other references would appear to be the same terms as one another with varying degrees of corruption. While the broked-mall may be a reference to a form of mallet used for indenting (or broaching) the surface of a block of stone, it could equally be a corruption of the term "Broached Ornel": i.e. a piece of ornel (soft white building stone) which has been indented with a chisel. Broad Oval is thought to be a corruption of the same term. Similarly, the "Perpend Esler", and "Perpendester" are thought to be a corruption

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[569] *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd.*
[570] *Institution of Free Masons* (c.1725), printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p79.
[571] *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), issue 2998.
[572] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32.
[573] Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p38.
[574] Sloane MS 3329.

of a composite word made up from "Parpen" and "Ashler", two terms which refer to a single stone that extends through the entire width of a wall.[575] While the suggestion made by E.H. Dring that Danty Tassley is also a corruption of this same term requires some imaginative transcription errors, no better suggestion has yet been made as to what else a Danty Tassley might be, and it therefore seems that Dring's suggestion must be taken seriously.[576] It therefore seems that all three of these documents contain terms which are corruptions of terms used within practical, and operative stonemasonry: but none of them seems to contain the original. This would seem to suggest an oral transmission of terms which ended up being committed to writing by those who do not have a proper understanding of the origins of those terms. The only possible conclusion can be that these symbolic elements of stonemasonry had some considerable history of oral transmission prior to their appearance in the catechisms at the end of the seventeenth century.

Another early appearance of stonemasons' tools is that of the trio of square, compass, and common gudge, a template of thin board used as a guide when cutting stones. These also appear in the earliest catechisms.[577] However, while the square and compass appear to remain constant throughout the catechisms of the early eighteenth century, the same is not true for the common gudge, which is replaced by the bible in the Dumfries MS, and the rule in all but one catechism after 1723. In many respects, the rule performs the same role in stonemasonry as the common gudge (i.e. to gauge a straight line), and this development is most likely to be the result of a simple change in terminology, rather than a change in the symbolic tool implied by the reference. However, while the square and compass remain standards of freemasonic ritual, it is interesting to note that these are occasionally joined by a raft of other tools including the plum, line, mell (mallet), chisel,[578] hammer, and trowel.[579]

The tools themselves seem, in the earliest catechisms, to not have a clear symbolic relevance: they are simply referred to, almost in passing, as tools of the mason's trade. By the mid 1720s, the square and compass in particular, often along with the rule or gudge, have become part of what is considered necessary to form a true and perfect lodge.[580] However, again there is no clear indication of the relevance of these tools as far as their symbolism goes. It should also

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[575] The relevant terms are defined by Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp191-192.
[576] E.H. Dring, 'The Evolution and Development of the Tracing or Lodge Board', *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol xxix (1916), p261.
[577] Register House MS, and Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp33 & 36.
[578] These four all appear in *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened* (1725), and the Graham MS (1726), printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp81 & 85.
[579] The hammer and trowel appear in London, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* (1726), A 795 GRA.
[580] For instance, *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.

be noted that the square and compass do not appear in early eighteenth-century visual representations in the recognisable modern form in which they overlap to create the points of a six-pointed star, but rather as separate items, such as seen in the depiction from *A Dialogue*.[581]

However, at least the compasses seem to have gained both a curious metaphor, and a practical application within freemasonic ritual during the early eighteenth century. The metaphor first appears in the Dumfries MS: "Q What couller is [the Master's] habit A yellow & blew meaning the compass wc is bras & Iron".[582] As with many other elements of the Dumfries MS, this should not necessarily be taken as the origin of this curious metaphor, as this document may well include elements which were simply left out of earlier documents for the sake of brevity. However, the same metaphor does not appear in another masonic document until the unexplained reference to yellow jackets and blue breeches in the 1729 advertisement.[583] It then appears in both of the exposures of 1730: in *Daily Journal* exposure, an explanation of the answer to the question concerning the Master's clothing clarifies that the Master is "not otherwise cloathed than common; the question and answer are only emblematical, the Yellow Jacket, the Compasses, and the Blue Breeches, the Steel Points".[584] A similar explanation appears in Prichard's exposure.[585]

However, it is interesting to note that not only are these the only mentions of the yellow jacket and blue breeches during the early eighteenth century, but that only one of these, the Dumfries MS explains within the wording of the catechism itself what the reference means, with the others providing editorial footnotes to provide the explanation. Considering that these references occur over a period of twenty years, it is somewhat difficult to explain them away as a temporary innovation which did not take hold. It is similarly difficult to conclude that the Dumfries MS is an early origin of this metaphor: so much appears as new in this document, due to its more comprehensive nature, that if each of those elements were a new innovation it would be possible to argue for a complete revolution in freemasonic ritual around 1710, which, as already shown, seems not to be the case.

The practical application of the compasses is first referenced in the mid 1720s. In *The Whole Institution of Masonry*, from 1724, the candidate states that he received the secret words

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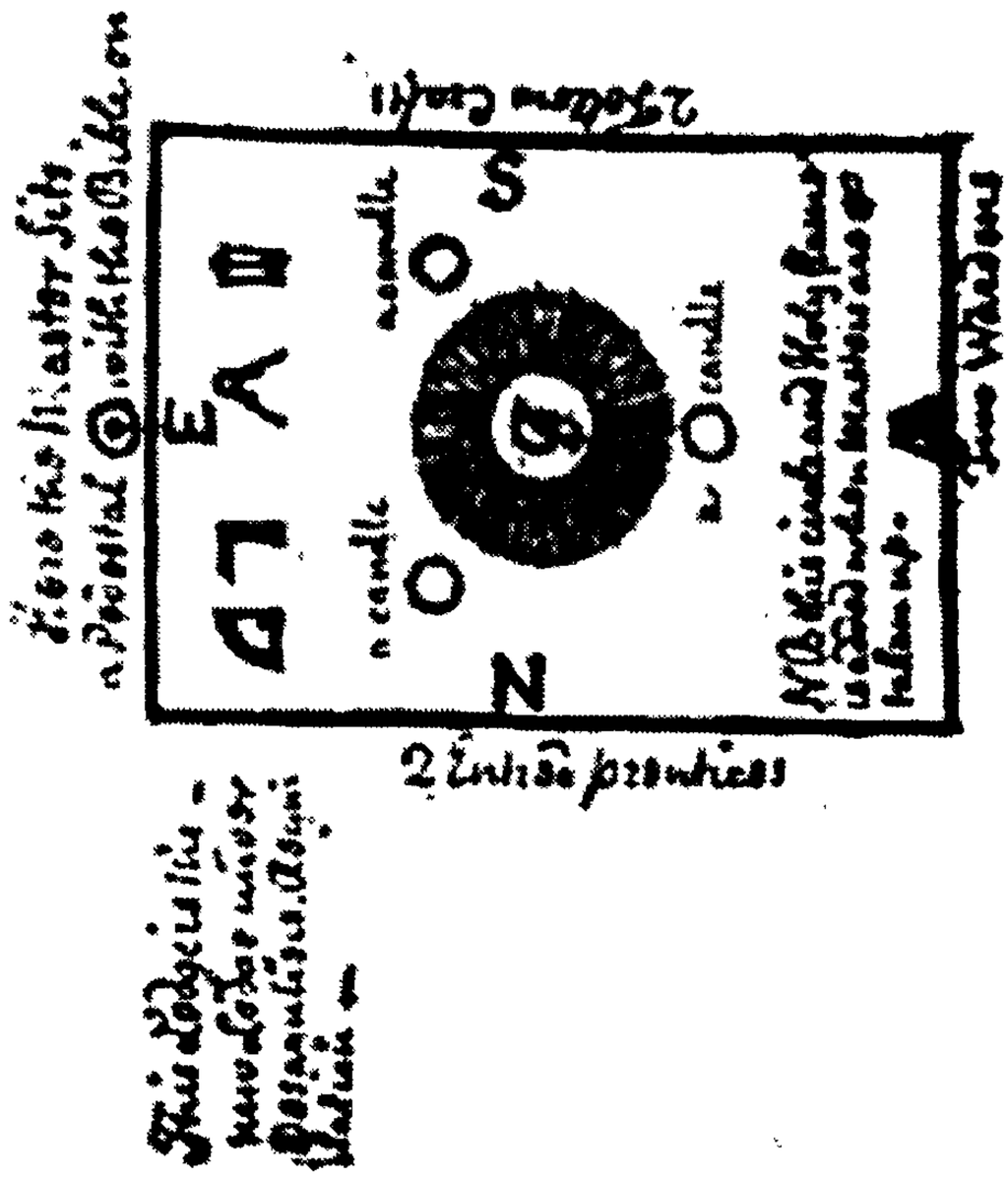
[581] See figure 2, p3.
[582] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Catechisms*, p57.
[583] *Daily Post* (London, Friday 20 June 1729), issue 3042.
[584] *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), issue 2998.
[585] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p18.



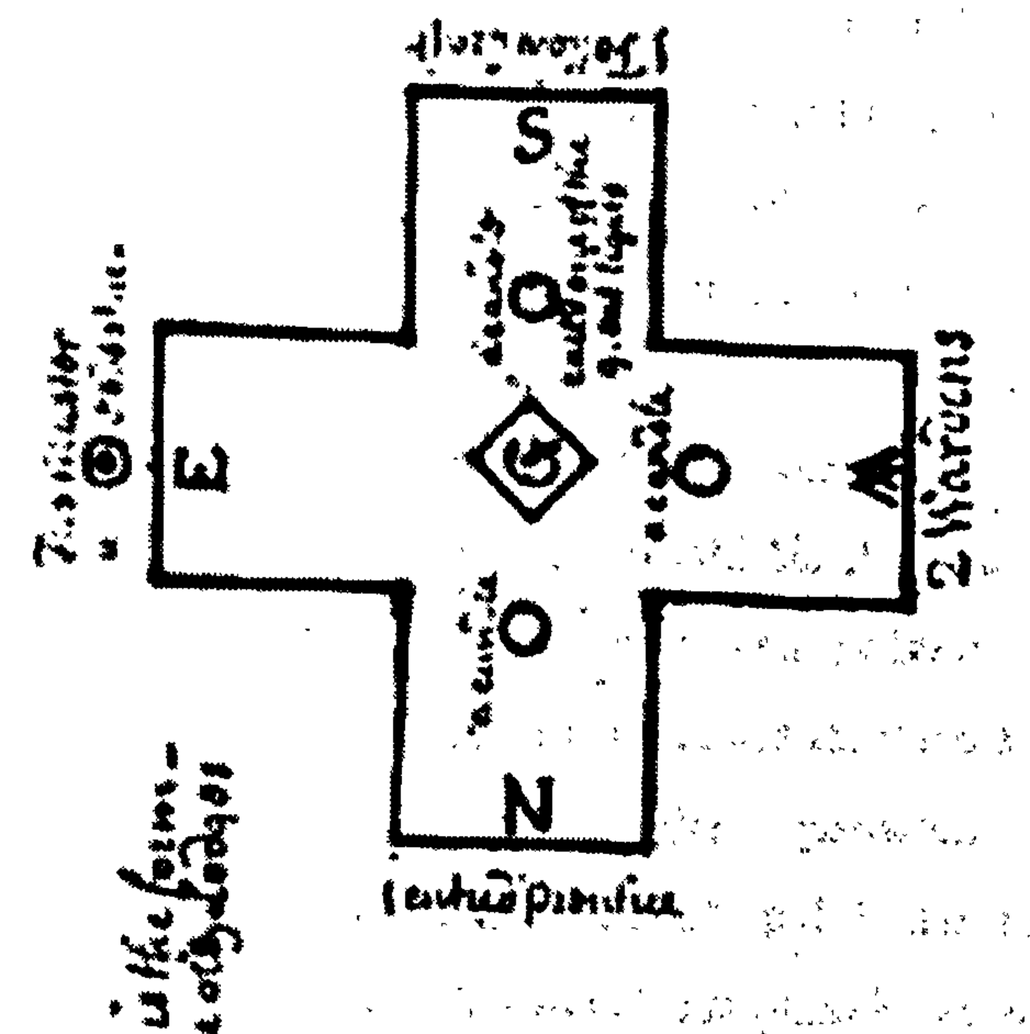


Figure 2. The "old lodge" and "new lodge" set-up, from *A Dialogue Between Simon and Philip*, c.1732.

"kneeling with Square and Compass at my Breast".[586] This seems to have become common practice by the early 1730s, with similar statements appearing in both of the 1730 exposures, and then in *Masonry Farther Dissected* in 1738.[587] Whether this use of the compass was a new innovation in the early 1720s, or whether it has an older origin is not clear: however, considering the fact that the compasses are mentioned in virtually every catechism of the early eighteenth century, and none prior to 1724 makes mention of their use in this way, it seems likely that it was a development in ritual shortly before 1724.

The final element of ritual symbolism, that of natural phenomena, seems to have remained largely constant throughout the early eighteenth century, and is heavily based on the movement of the sun across the sky throughout the day. In c.1700, the Sloane MS makes the first reference to two lights in the lodge: "one to see to go in and another to see to work".[588] While this may not appear to be an obvious reference to the sun, the Dumfries MS, gives the answer to the same question as: "ye sun riseth in ye east & sets all men to work & sets in ye west & so turns all men to bed".[589] It therefore seems likely that the Sloane MS details a slightly corrupted version of the answer, in which the fact that the two lights represent the sun has become less explicit. The idea of either two lights in the lodge representing the passage of the sun, or of the officers of the lodge standing in the East and West of the lodge to represent the sun, appears in virtually every other early eighteenth-century masonic catechism: however, it is absent from the two earliest catechisms, which perhaps indicates its appearance in the Sloane MS is not so much a corruption of an older idea, but rather an innovation still in the process of formation, which has come to fruition by the time of the Dumfries MS ten years later. If this is the case, then it would seem that this idea entered freemasonic symbolism during the last few years of the seventeenth century.

One other element of freemasonic symbolism, which could be considered to be based on natural phenomena needs to be discussed: the idea of the blazing star. The appearance of the blazing star in the "new lodge" pictured in *A Dialogue* has already been discussed, and from that document, it seems clear that the writer considers this to be a new innovation in freemasonry: an innovation which the writer attributes to Desaguliers.[590] The same attribution is made by the 1729 advertisement, which lists "blazing stars" amongst the new innovations.[591] While it is true that the blazing star is not a frequent occurrence in freemasonic

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[586] *Whole Institution of Masonry* (1724).
[587] *Masonry Farther Dissected*, p14.
[588] Sloane MS 3329.
[589] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p56.
[590] MS 'Dialogue Between Simon and Philip'.
[591] *Daily Post* (London, Friday 20 June 1729), issue 3042.

catechisms prior to 1729, there is one reference to it as early as the turn of the eighteenth century, when the Sloane MS makes mention of a blazing star as one of the three jewels of the lodge.[592] Considering that Desaguliers would have been only around 17 years old when the document was written, and there is no evidence of his involvement in freemasonry until almost two decades later, it seems impossible to accept the argument that he is responsible for this particular innovation. The blazing star does not seem to have become a significant element of freemasonic symbolism during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, but equally, it does not seem to have gained any greater significance during the 1720s and 1730s either, with it being mentioned in only one further source during that period.[593]

There are a large number of symbolic elements within freemasonry, and there does appear to have been some development of these symbols during the early years of the eighteenth century. Some symbols, such as the pillars of Jachin and Boaz, the grave, and an array of stone masons' tools were clearly present at the start of the century. As the century moved on, there appears to have been some development: the appearance of, and development of the solar symbolism during the first few years of the eighteenth century; and the apparent addition of an arch, and a practical use of the compasses during the early 1720s. However, these would appear to be part of a process of gradual development, as already shown in virtually every other area of freemasonic ritual during the first half of the early eighteenth century, rather than the more commonly accepted theory of a deliberate and sudden change instigated by the Grand Lodge.

Although symbolism, mythology, and the practical layout are all important elements of freemasonic ritual, the specific purpose of the majority of freemasonic rituals during the early eighteenth century was the communication of information, whether that be giving new information in the case of initiations, or of proving knowledge in the case of recognitory rituals. As such, it is necessary to look both at the methods of communication, and the information being communicated. While all of the various elements of ritual already discussed take some part in setting up a particular mental image for, and a particular emotional response from those taking part, there are also more direct methods of enhancing the experience, and these need to be looked at.

Unfortunately, relatively little is included in the various catechisms and other documents concerning the methods of communication used during freemasonic ritual. It is particularly unhelpful that only two of the catechisms go into detail concerning the ceremonies of

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[592] Sloane MS 3329.
[593] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p13.

initiation: there is a small amount of evidence concerning initiatory rituals in the other catechisms, but these are in the format of a question and answer in a recognitory ritual concerning the method in which the candidate was initiated, thereby providing only limited information. Furthermore, the two initiatory rituals described appear in the two earliest catechisms, which relate to Scottish operative practice. Considering the method by which accepted freemasonry arrived in England it does not seem unreasonable to extrapolate the practices detailed in these catechisms to English accepted practice, but this still provides a dearth of evidence which prevents a thorough understanding, as there is no evidence as to whether the details described in the Register House MS and the Chetwode Crawley MS continued to be relevant into the first few decades of the eighteenth century.

In both of these early documents, the detail of the initiation rituals are near enough identical: the candidate kneels before the Master of the Lodge and takes an oath not to reveal the secrets he is about to be taught. He is then removed from the lodge by the youngest mason "where after he is sufficiently frightened with 1000 ridicolous postures and grimmaces" before being taught the signs, postures and words which must be performed when he returns into the lodge. Returning to the lodge, he performs those signs, postures, and words, and takes a second oath of secrecy. "Then all the mason present whisper amongst themselves the word beginning at the youngest till it come to the master mason who gives the word" to the new initiate.[594]

Throughout, this ceremony seems to be of a rather ghoulish nature: the initiate is firstly frightened by various, undisclosed, postures and grimaces, and then is required to take an oath to keep the secrets "under no less pain then haveing my tongue cut out under my chin and of being buried within the flood mark where no man shall know". After this, "he makes the sign again with drawing his hand under his chin alongst his throat which denotes that it be cut out in caise he break his word".[595] At least the latter element seems to have remained a part of the initiatory ceremonies throughout the early eighteenth century, with almost every catechism making mention of an oath which included the punishment of having the tongue cut out, the throat cut, or more commonly both. Thus, the 1723 exposure from *The Flying Post* states that the "first point of entrance" was to "Hear and conceal, on Pain of having my throat cut, or Tongue pull'd out".[596] By the time of Prichard's exposure, this seems to have become even more violent: "All this under no less Penalty than to have my Throat cut, my Tongue taken from the Roof of my Mouth, my Heart pluck'd from under my Left Breast, them to be buried in the Sands of the Sea, the Length of a Cable-rope from the Shore, where the Tide ebbs and

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[594] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp33-34.
[595] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p33.
[596] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.

flows twice in 24 Hours, my Body to be burnt to Ashes, my Ashes to be scatter'd upon the Face of the Earth, so that there shall be no more Remembrance of me among Masons".[597] A similar, although slightly shorter comment is found in 1738's *Masonry Farther Dissected.*[598]

Other specific elements intended to frighten the candidate occasionally appear in descriptions of initiation rituals, such as the Dumfries MS, where the candidate is entered into the lodge with a rope around his neck "to hang me If I should Betry may trust".[599] However, it seems as though, at least in English lodges, the practice of deliberately scaring the candidate had died out by the late 1730s. In 1738, the anonymous *Masonry Farther Dissected* detailed the initiation of a candidate into a French lodge, and contains footnotes comparing the practices of the French lodge to those of its English counterparts. The ceremony described includes a moment where the candidate enters the lodge room, at which point gunpowder is thrown into three lighted tapers "in order to frighten him". However, the footnotes question "why these Fire-Works, to shock and terrify the poor novice? I could never learn, that either our English, or even the Scottish Masons... having ever had any Thing like this". It goes on to state that "the only Method I could ever find yet taken by our English Masons to surprize, or terrify their new Brethren, or Novices, is this: viz. immediately on the Novice's first Entrance... the whole Body of the Brotherhood then present... clap their Right-hands hard on their Left-breasts, and then as hard or harder down on their Right-Skirts, which sudden Noise... fails not to startle the New-Comers".[600]

However, there are reasons to question the accuracy of the text; or at least the knowledge of the individual writing the footnotes, since several ideas presented do not match with known English freemasonic practice. For instance, the writer claims that the practice of blindfolding the initiate is not practiced in English lodges, despite the fact that two of the catechisms make mention of such a practice,[601] although it is possible that the reference in the Graham MS is a metaphorical blindfold, rather than a literal one. Furthermore, in the rituals described by Carlile in 1825, the candidate is clearly brought into the lodge blindfolded,[602] and it would seem curious if this practice had died out in the late 1730s, only to be reintroduced later. In fact, Carlile's description of the candidate suggests a quite frightening scenario: he has a rope about his neck, echoing the early eighteenth-century references to similar practice; while the compass pointed at the left breast has been replaced by a sword. It seems unlikely that these

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[597] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p12.
[598] *Masonry Farther Dissected*, p14.
[599] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p56.
[600] *Masonry Farther Dissected*, pp9-12.
[601] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712; Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p84.
[602] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, p4.

elements would appear in rituals of the 1720s, disappear in the 1730s, only to reappear again later, and it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that, while the French lodge of 1738 seems to have made a greater effort to shock the initiate, the idea of frightening him was not entirely absent from English lodges of the same period.

Furthermore, although there is no significant detail of the initiation ritual of the third degree as practiced during the 1730s, the details provided by Carlile for the same degree a century later may be of use. In Carlile's description the candidate is taken through a re-enactment of the death and subsequent attempts at resurrection of Hiram Abiff, with the candidate playing the part of the murdered man. At one point, he is "struck on the forehead, and thrown down".[603] Throughout the description of this part of the ceremony, the language used implies that the experience is intended to be frightening for the candidate. While it is not certain that this same ceremony was practiced in the early eighteenth century, there are indications that at least the re-enactment of Hiram's death and attempted resurrection were involved: the term used for being initiated into the third degree by Carlile is "raised", and is clearly a reference to the very literal raising from the symbolic ritual grave of Hiram. This term is in use at least as early as 1726, when it appears in the Graham MS,[604] and it would seem improbable that the term was intended to convey anything other than its later meaning. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to suggest that the symbolic raising from the grave was a part of freemasonic initiations at least as early as the mid 1720s, and quite possibly earlier, considering the references to graves and the five points of fellowship in the early catechisms.

Although the ritual murder and resurrection seems to fit into a tradition in which the candidate is put through an ordeal intended to frighten him, this is not necessarily the main aim of this element of ritual. Far from being a specifically frightening experience, at least during the 1720s, this would seem to have been a part of a ritual "enlightenment" of the candidate, in which he is taken from the darkness of the rest of the world, and into the light of freemasonic knowledge and secrets. The implication of such a concept first appears in 1726: "How came you into the Lodge - poor and penyless blind and Ignorant of our secrets".[605] This idea is made explicit four years later: in response to the question "How was you admitted", the answer states that the Tyler "let me pass by him into a dark Entry; there two Wardens took me under each Arm, and conducted me from Darkness into Light".[606] While this reference is clearly not in relation to a symbolic resurrection, it does set a tone for masonic ritual which

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[603] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, p70.
[604] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p84.
[605] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p84.
[606] *Daily Journal* (London, 15 August 1730), No. 2998.

would seem to match with the description of the purpose of the resurrection, which is designed as a metaphor for "that which was lost and now is found",[607] or, in other words, the finding, or sharing of the secrets of freemasonry; thereby bringing the candidate from darkness into light. This concept is also found with the use of a blindfold in two catechisms, as already mentioned. While in neither of these is the blindfold directly linked to the concept of bringing the initiate from darkness into light, such is clearly stated by Carlile in 1825,[608] and it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the purpose of the blindfold would most likely have been the same a century earlier.

One other element which needs to be mentioned is the description of the way in which the candidate is prepared for initiation. The most detailed description appears in *Masonry Farther Dissected*, and although this details the activities of a French lodge, which may not in all circumstances be relevant to the practice of English freemasons, the details match so well with those of English documents, it seems valid to use it in this context. According to this work, the candidate has all metal items removed (belt buckles, buttons, rings, boxes, money), his left knee is bared, his left shoe is put down at the heel, and he is blindfolded. At a later point in the ceremony the blindfold is removed, he kneels down with one foot lifted of the ground and his left breast is bared.[609] While this full description appears only in 1738, it would appear that something similar dates back to at least the first decade of the eighteenth century, and possibly quite some time before. The Dumfries MS refers to the initiate "neither sitting nor standing nor running nor going but on my left knee".[610] As already mentioned, the appearance of the compass being held to the left breast, and thereby presumably the baring of the breast, first appears in 1724, and by 1726 something approaching the 1738 description appears, in which the candidate is "poor and penyless blind and Ignorant of our secrets", and "nether siting standing goeing runing rideing hinging nor flying naked nor cloathed shode nor bairfoot... half kneeling half standing".[611] While the specific wording changes frequently in the catechisms and exposures after this date, the description contained in them is constant.

While at least some elements of this description date back to 1710, it should be noted that the earliest catechisms not only fail to mention these elements, but actually give quite a different description of the candidate's entry to the lodge: the candidate "must make a ridiculous bow, then the signe... then putting off his hat after a very foolish manner".[612] While it is possible

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[607] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, need p26.
[608] Carlile, *Manual of Freemasonry*, pp4 & 8.
[609] *Masonry Farther Dissected*, pp4-14.
[610] Dumfries MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p56.
[611] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, pp84.-85
[612] Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p33.

that these gestures could be conducted while slip-shod, bare-kneed, and blindfolded (and such would certainly add to the foolish appearance of them), there is no reason to suppose that this is the case; and similarly the descriptions given in the later catechisms do not include ridiculous bows or removal of hats. It would therefore seem most likely that these elements of ritual changed during the first decade of the early eighteenth century.

It therefore seems that, once again, the evidence for the development of ritual does not follow the frequently suggested idea of a rapid change instigated by the Grand Lodge in the 1720s, but rather one of development which appears to be largely continuous from the early years of the eighteenth century through to the 1730s.

One final element of the catechisms still needs to be addressed: that of the specific detail included in them. This is perhaps the most complex element, simply because there is no clear pattern. In fact, for a large part of the various questions and answers there is simply no clear consistency, either in terms of an unchanging approach, or in terms of a sustained development. While some of the questions and answers do appear consistent, others seem to change from document to document. Thus, while the question "What is the first point [of entry into freemasonry]", is invariably answered with "To Heal and Conceal",[613] or some variant thereof, the number of masons which make a true and perfect lodge changes frequently, as do the number of jewels and lights in the lodge, and the meanings attributed to those jewels and lights. Perhaps the best example of the flexible nature of questions and answers is the five points of fellowship. Although the earlier catechisms do not give any explanation as to the purpose of these points, later documents highlight how they are the points used to form the necessary position to raise the candidate from the symbolic grave of Hiram. In some documents, these are "foot to foot, knee to knee, heart to heart, hand to hand, and ear to ear";[614] others replace "hand to hand" with "hand to back";[615] others retain "hand to hand", but replace "heart to heart" with "hand in back".[616] In two instances, there are six, rather than five, points of fellowship: the *Flying Post* exposure gives "foot to foot, knee to knee, hand to hand, ear to ear, tongue to tongue, heart to heart";[617] while *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* gives an almost entirely different six of foot to foot, knee to knee, breast to breast, hand to back, cheek to cheek and face to face.[618]

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[613] See, for instance, Chetwode Crawley MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p37. This document actually has "hear", rather than "heal", as do several others, but these would seem to be copyist errors.
[614] Such as, Register House MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p32.
[615] Graham MS, printed in Knoop, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p89.
[616] Prichard, *Masonry Dissected*, p28.
[617] *Flying Post* (London, 11-13 April 1723), No. 4712.
[618] *The Grand Mystery Laid Open*.

These differences do not follow any pattern of development, and are found dotted sporadically around the various catechisms when viewed chronologically or geographically. Such is the case with a number of other questions and answers. As such it must be accepted that there was a certain amount of fluidity with regard to the specific answers given. It would appear that, rather than having to give an exact replication of any one answer, the tests from the catechisms instead suggest a far more fluid approach, in which the individual being tested has to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the tester that he has been through a freemasonic initiation. It therefore seems likely that diversity in initiation rituals was rife throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, and that it was merely the general theme, along with a few specific signs of recognition which united freemasonry, rather than a specific set of canonical rituals.

Considering the various elements of freemasonic ritual it seems impossible to conclude, as many have previously, that either the Grand Lodge or Desaguliers were directly responsible for bringing about major changes in freemasonic ritual during the early 1720s. The roles of those taking part in ritual seems to have remained constant throughout the early eighteenth century; the mythological basis seems to have developed gradually during the first three centuries of the eighteenth century, and possibly through the last decades of the seventeenth century; the methods of communication seem to have undergone a significant change in the first decade of the eighteenth century, followed by gradual change during the following two decades; and the development of the trigrädal system of initiation appears to have been part of a gradual change in the degree system which was already in progress by the early seventeenth century with the appearance of the single initiation for new Fellow-Crafts, continued through the later seventeenth century with the appearance of the initiatory ritual for Entered Apprentices, and was still progressing through to the latter part of the eighteenth century with the addition of the Royal Arch degree, and numerous side-degrees. The only place where there appears to have been a significant, and sudden change in ritual is in the use of ritual space, with the old method of drawing a lodge in chalk and charcoal changing at some point during the late 1720s to a new method of using tape and tacks. This change seems to have led to a simplifying of the lodge shape, and thereby a slight change in the positioning of some accoutrements, but nothing more significant. Ultimately, the only change which could possibly, although not conclusively be argued to be the result of interference by the Grand Lodge is that of the method of drawing the lodge, and even this seems to have taken some time to be universally accepted, as there is evidence of the old method still being used as late as 1738.

Perhaps the origin of the myth concerning the influence of Desaguliers on freemasonic ritual is the result of a misunderstanding of the way that freemasonic ritual had developed during the early eighteenth century. In 1751 a group of Irish freemasons who had settled in London found their own freemasonic practices to be at odds with those of the lodges under Grand Lodge jurisdiction. Those Irish masons believed, not unreasonably considering their perspective, that these changes were the result of the interference of the Grand Lodge in freemasonic ritual, and decided to set up an alternative body to return to what they believed were the uncorrupted rituals of freemasonry.[619] The creation of the Grand Lodge of the Antients, as the new body was called, led to a rift in freemasonry which lasted over sixty years. However, it is worth noting that, although they considered the rituals of the London Grand Lodge to have become corrupted, they actually practiced many of the elements of ritual that had developed during the Grand Lodge period: the trigradal system, with the addition of the fourth, Arch Master degree; the full blown Hiram myth; and, perhaps most ironically, the one change which was almost certainly instigated by the London Grand Lodge, the ritual for constituting a new lodge.[620]

In fact, it seems most likely that the natural development of freemasonic ritual had occurred in different ways, at different times, in different places: thus, while Irish freemasonry had developed in one direction, English had developed in another, albeit with some elements crossing from one to another. Thus the Irish masons believed theirs was the "pure antient" form of masonry, and the English version was a corruption. It seems somewhat ironic that the most significant split to occur in freemasonic unity may have been the result of a misunderstanding of a natural process of development.

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[619] Herbert Poole, *Gould's History*, p178.
[620] Dermott, *Ahiman Rezon* (1764), p261.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

In 1988 David Stevenson observed that masonic history had been woefully neglected by academic historians. He suggested a number of reasons why this should be the case, which largely revolved around the fact that the historiography of the subject is dominated by a vast quantity of "sheer nonsense" written by past generations of masons, along with an isolationist approach which resulted in masonic history being written by masons for a masonic audience with little concern for the more general movements of history. This, Stevenson suggested, resulted in academics tending to shy away from a subject which they viewed as disreputable, and best avoided.[621] Some two decades later little seems to have changed in this regard. On the surface there appears to be a greater push to bring freemasonic history into the mainstream, with two organisations dedicated to research into freemasonry and fraternalism now existing in Britain. However, these two centres are largely funded by masonic organisations with a staff heavily dominated by non-academic historians with masonic connections.

The problems for the academic historian in studying freemasonry can perhaps be best demonstrated by an incident which occurred during my research for this thesis. After responding to a call for papers for an academic conference on freemasonic history, I received a telephone call from the organiser of the conference. He wanted to clarify the nature of the conclusions in my suggested paper, as he was concerned that they would not be suitable, although what he meant by that was never clarified. His nervousness was, to some extent, understandable, since the organiser of such a conference is inevitably going to be inundated with papers from those who have been inspired by *The Da Vinci Code*[622] and believe it to be the truth. However, he showed no interest at all in the quality of my research, my methodological approach, my arguments, or the evidence I used to support my conclusions: his sole concern was whether or not the conclusions themselves were "suitable". It was particularly interesting to note that whenever he mentioned freemasonic history he referred to it as "our history", therefore demonstrating not only his own freemasonic credentials, but his assumption that, as someone who was researching freemasonic history, I must also be a freemason.

The distinct lack of previous genuine academic approaches to the subject, along with the vast quantity of material produced by freemasons themselves, leaves the serious historian in something of a difficult position. Perhaps more than any other historical subject, it is necessary to wade through vast quantities of poorly researched opinions, unsupported

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[621] Stevenson, *Origins*, pp.xi-xii.
[622] Brown, *Da Vinci Code*.

arguments, and frankly ludicrous ideas, in order to find the genuinely insightful articles which occasionally appear in amongst the morass. Thus it is possible to find in the same volume articles by Colin Wilson (famous for his pseudo-historical works on Atlantis), and James M. Robinson (well-respected theologian, and expert on biblical history).[623] Given these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that academic historians often shy away from entering into the complex world of masonic history.

While this thesis has taken an in-depth look at the developments in organisation, mythical history, and ritual of English accepted freemasonry during the period 1640-1740, there are a number of areas that still need to be looked at to bring the picture presented into sharper focus. In particular, a look at the developments in English stonemasonry prior to 1640 would be of considerable value in understanding how much, if anything, the emergence of accepted freemasonry owed to the English stonemasons' trade. Such work would need to encompass both the numerous records relating to the London Company of Accepted Masons, and other, less numerous sources concerning other stonemasons' organisations around England, and particularly in Cheshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire. Such research would ideally include a comparison between English and Scottish stonemasonry, in order to fully assess whether the two displayed any significant differences beyond the organisational elements introduced in Scotland through the Schaw Statutes.

This thesis intentionally focussed on the first century of English accepted freemasonry, and therefore ends with a perhaps slightly arbitrary date of 1740. Although many dramatic changes occurred during that first century, the period after 1740 is also deserving of a more thorough investigation from an academic standpoint: the development of higher degrees; the continuing development of ritual; the dispute which led to the formation of the Antients Grand Lodge; and developments in European, Scottish and Irish freemasonry which impacted on English freemasonry would all make fascinating topics, and are necessary before we can claim to have anything approaching an understanding of the historical development of freemasonry. Furthermore, the various myths about freemasonry, such as the perceived connections to Rosicrucianism, Templars, and Druids, need to be progressed beyond 1740, as do the perceptions of freemasonry which sprang up after 1740, such as accusations concerning freemasonic involvement in political and religious conspiracies. To put it succinctly, relatively little academic work has been done on the history of freemasonry, and a great deal remains to be done.

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[623] *The Canonbury Papers*, Vol. 5 (London, 2008).

However, this thesis has aimed to cover a small part of the gap in our knowledge of the historical development of freemasonry, following on largely from the work of David Stevenson on the origins of Scottish freemasonry. In doing so, a number of questions concerning the early history of English freemasonry have been answered.

The deconstruction of currently accepted views is vital to developing a better understanding of the history of freemasonry: as has been shown throughout this thesis, so much of what is now accepted as fact is in reality the result of an unquestioning acceptance of views expressed by freemasons during the past two centuries. It is often misleading, and at times downright inaccurate.

Perhaps the most significant observation to come out of my research is the very different nature of Scottish and English freemasonic organisation at the start of the period: while Scottish freemasonry in 1640 was, as demonstrated by Stevenson, dominated by a well-organised system of regularly-meeting lodges dominated by operative stonemasons,[624] the developments in England tended toward occasional meetings of gentlemen and intellectuals. It would seem that Scottish freemasonry continued to be largely dominated by the system of permanent, organised lodges of operative stonemasons through to the early eighteenth century, albeit with a rapidly increasing number of non-operative initiates after 1670.[625] However, even as late as the early eighteenth century, English freemasonry was still operating mostly under a system of occasional meetings, dominated by accepted freemasons. The lodge system which eventually developed in early eighteenth-century London may look similar to Schaw's Scottish lodge system, but would actually appear to owe more to the burgeoning London club culture than to its Scottish cousins.

This brings up the question of why English and Scottish masonry should take such different directions, particularly when it is considered that, even if the former did not take its origins from the latter, they certainly had a very recent shared heritage. This would appear to be the result of the increasing dominance of non-operative masons in the north of England. While operative stonemasons had cause, due to the nature of their craft, to continue to intermingle and share ideas, accepted masons had less incentive to do so. This is not to say that intermingling of ideas did not take place, but rather that, once the scales of operative initiates in an area had tipped in favour of non-operatives, the incentive to do so was less. The idea of meeting on occasions only is perfectly in keeping with the nature of gentlemen initiates of Scottish operative lodges, and it would seem that, when gentlemen initiates dominated, this

[624] Stevenson, *Origins*.
[625] Stevenson, *First Freemasons*.

became the standard nature of lodge meetings. Thus, as accepted freemasonry began to spread through England, it did so in line with the nature of non-operative involvement in operative lodges. Fairly rapidly the accepted form of masonry in England dominated, and as such, the limited cross-over with operative freemasonry in Scotland allowed for English freemasonry to take its own course, largely without the influence of operative stonemasonry.

The development of permanent lodges in the early eighteenth century, along with the competition from numerous clubs, seems to have resulted in the gradual formation of a Grand Lodge. Far from the rapid appearance of a governing body, which is the frequent portrayal of the London Grand Lodge, this body seems to have grown out of humble beginnings, consisting largely of the organisation of an annual feast for the freemasons of London which began to solidify into a governing body as the popularity of freemasonry increased, and lodges began to seek affiliation. It seems clear that the early meetings of the Grand Lodge were not the significant events claimed by later freemasonic writers, but rather social gatherings.

However, during the first few years of the 1720s, the Grand Lodge began to give freemasonry a public face, advertising their Grand Feast in London newspapers, and electing nobles as Grand Masters to boost their public recognition. The result was a rapid expansion of freemasonry, which managed to provide all the popular features of other societies: a social network which included intellectuals and the politically influential; annual feasts; public entertainments; and mutual charitable support for members. Freemasonry provided something of a "super-club", which provided something of interest for a significant number of the male population of London, and of England. As a result, by 1730 the Grand Lodge was claiming jurisdiction not just over England, but over a number of lodges across the known world.

Despite this, the Grand Lodge's main interest seems to have been in administrative areas, such as constituting new lodges, and dealing with disputes of a practical nature between lodges and masons; along with administering charitable help to distressed members of the lodges. There is no evidence to suggest that the Grand Lodge paid much attention to the workings of ritual within the lodges, or the detail of the mythology which informed those rituals, with lodges apparently practicing different initiatory rituals well after 1740.

The commonly expressed view of the Grand Lodge's involvement in the development of freemasonic ritual and mythology also seems somewhat wide of the mark, with evidence clearly showing that both ritual, and the mythology which informed that ritual, underwent a gradual, but consistent change from at least as early as the start of the seventeenth century,

well into the late eighteenth century. The development from a two-grade to a three-grade system of initiation is more properly seen as a natural part of that development, rather than an imposition by Desaguliers (as is commonly supposed), and it seems clear from the evidence that new innovations within freemasonic ritual tended to appear from within the workings of individual lodges, and then, if generally popular, spread throughout freemasonry across the British Isles. The development of freemasonic ritual and myth is clearly a bottom-up approach, in which the Grand Lodge, at least prior to 1740, simply accepted the changes in ritual which had already become popular amongst the lodges. This is in stark contrast to the view which has been prominent for the past two centuries, which has accepted the idea that the Grand Lodge was entirely responsible for the changes in ritual and myth which occurred after 1717.

In the late 1980s, David Stevenson began the process of re-writing the history of British freemasonry from an academic standpoint. This thesis is intended to contribute to this process by taking an academic approach to the developments of English accepted freemasonry during its first century of existence. The nature of English freemasonry in the 1640s, with its infrequent occasional meetings in the north of England, was very different from that which predominated a century later, with several hundred lodges spread throughout every town in England, and in numerous countries across the world under the jurisdiction of a Grand Lodge. The developments in ritual are similarly far-reaching, with changes occurring in the symbolism; the tools used to draw the lodge; the shape of the lodge; the mythology which informed ritual; and the structure of initiatory rituals. Alongside those changes, freemasonry had, for the first time, begun to actively publicise its existence. Those changes would continue after 1740 with the development of the Royal Arch degree, side degrees, and rival Grand Lodges.

It is very clear that the views which continue to underpin our understanding of freemasonic history are the result of assumption and error, and have left a picture of freemasonic history which is at best unsupportable, and in places simply inaccurate. An academic approach to the whole of freemasonic history is needed to gain a better understanding of its place in cultural history. While much work still has to be done, this thesis has shown that the story of English accepted freemasonry prior to 1740 is very different to the one which has been accepted for over two centuries.

Appendix 1: Glossary

Ample Form

A meeting of a (Grand) lodge in Ample Form is one at which the (Grand) Master is not present, but sufficient members and officers are present for it to be quorate.

Beetle

A stonemason's tool for beating down paving stones.

Charges

The regulations which govern the activities and behaviour of lodges and their members.

Due Form

A meeting of a (Grand) lodge in Due Form is one at which the (Grand) Master is present, and sufficient members and officers are present for it to be quorate.

Hinging

Kneeling (i.e. "hinged" at the knee).

Old Charges

A series of documents which detail the mythical history, and regulations of, working stonemasons in England and Scotland during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

Mason Word

A catch-all term for the secret matter of freemasonry. This includes words, signs, grips (i.e. handshakes), and symbols.

Schaw Statutes

The statutes of 1598 and 1599 which created the lodge system for working stonemasons in Scotland. Named after their author, William Schaw, the King's Master of Works.

Tyler

The officer of the lodge responsible for laying out the lodge before a ceremony, and for guarding the door during ceremonies to ensure that only freemasons are present. As this role normally takes place outside of the main activity of the lodge, it is usually a paid position.

Tracing Board

A symbolic representation of the lodge. Each masonic ceremony has its own Tracing Board, which includes, in symbolic form, all the information necessary for the setting up and conduct of the ritual. As it is symbolic, anyone without knowledge of the ritual concerned would find it virtually impossible to understand. Tracing Boards first appeared in the 1740s, and were originally drawn on, or carved into, boards of wood, hence the name.

Appendix 2: List of English Freemasonic Lodges 1716-1740

The list on the following pages details all the lodges which appear in any record of the London Grand Lodge between 1716 and 1740. This includes the lists of lodges in the Grand Lodge minute books, those in the engraved lists, and in official publications such as Anderson's *Constitutions*. This list does not include any lodges which were not officially recognised by the London Grand Lodge, such as William Stukeley's Grantham Lodge. All lodges are based in London, unless otherwise stated.

Much of the information is drawn from Lane's Lists, available at <http://freemasonry.dept.shef.ac.uk/lane/>, but has been augmented to include those lodges missed by Lane. These additional lodges are generally drawn from the lodge lists included in the first minute book of the Grand Lodge. Although these are dated 1723 and 1725, they actually include lodges which appear to have been warranted in the years immediately following those dates: thus, some lodges warranted in 1728 appear in the 1725 list, while some warranted in 1725 appear in the 1723 list.

The warrant dates are taken from Lane's Lists and the Engraved Lists (where the lodge is included in those lists). Other dates are given as approximate as there is no evidence concerning their actual date of constitution: those approximate dates are based on their position of seniority in the various lodge lists, and should be taken as indicative rather than definitive. The dates for the four founding lodges are those given by the Grand Lodge, but are not proved to be the dates of founding of those lodges. The Apple Tree Tavern Lodge, which ceased to exist sometime during the early 1720s before being resurrected is treated as two different entities, as it was throughout the 1720s and 1730s, although in all modern records it is recognised as one, continuous lodge.

The numbering system for lodges is somewhat complex due to the fact that lodges changed numbers between different lists. I have included as much information as possible regarding the various numbering systems. The numbers used are labelled as follows:

L = Lane's Serial Number.
1723 = Grand Lodge Minute Book, 1723 List.
1725 = Grand Lodge Minute Book, 1725 List.
1729 = Lane's List, 1729 date, based on the 1729 Engraved List of Lodges.[626]
1735 = Engraved List of Lodges, 1735.
1740 = Lane's List, 1740 date, based on the 1740 Engraved List of Lodges.

[626] Lane's numbers continue quite some time after 1729. These numbers would seem to be based on the order of appearance in Engraved Lists between 1729 and 1740.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
T.I.[627]	Rummer & Grapes, Westminster (1716) Horn Tavern, Westminster (1723)	4	5	4	3	3	2	Founding member of London Grand Lodge.
1691	Goose and Gridiron, St. Paul's Churchyard (1717) King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard (1729) Paul's Head, Ludgate Street (1734) Horn and Feathers, Doctors' Commons (1736) King's or Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard (1736)	1	1	1	1	1	1	Founding member of London Grand Lodge.
1712	Crown, Parker's Lane, Lincolns Inn Fields (1717) Queen's Head, Turnstile, Holborn (1723) Green Lettice, Brownlow Street, Holborn (1725) Rose and Rummer, Furnival's Inn, Holborn (1727) Rose and Buffalo, Furnivall's Inn, Holborn (1729) Bull and Gate, Furnival's Inn, Holborn (1730)	2	3	3	2	2	-	Founding member of London Grand Lodge. Erased 1736
c.1715	Apple Tree Tavern, Covent Garden (1717)	11	-	-	-	-	-	Founding member of London Grand Lodge. Ceased operating before 1723.
c.1721	Arundell Street (1723)[628]	-	4	-	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1725.
17 Jan 1721[629]	King's Head, Ivy Lane (1723) Swan, Hampstead (1730) Shakespeare's Head, Lit. Marlborough Street (1736)	32	6	5	4	4	4	
11 Jul 1721	Three Cranes, Poultry (1723) Three Cranes, Poultry (1729) Ship, behind the Royal Exchange (1731) Bell, Nicholas Lane (1736) Crown, behind the Royal Exchange (1739)	33	8	-	5	5	3	Does not appear in 1725 list.
19 Jan 1722	Tom's Coffee House, Clare Street (1723) Coach and Horses, Maddox Street (1730) Braund's Head, New Bond Street (1733)	34	49	41	6	6	5	
28 Jan 1722	Crown, behind the Royal Exchange (1723) Rummer, Queen Street, Cheapside (1729) King's Arms, Tower Street, Seven Dials (1740)	35	27	22	7	7	6	

[627] Time Immemorial.
[628] Meeting place unreadable due to the top of the page being ripped.
[629] In the engraved list for 1730, this is given as 1722.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
c.1722	Three Compasses, Silver Street (1723)	-	9	7	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.[630]
25 Apr 1722	Duke of Chandois's Arms, Edgworth/Edgeware (1723) Devil Tavern, within Temple Bar (1729) Daniel's Coffee Ho., without Temple Bar (1735) King's Arms Tavern, Temple Bar (1739)	36	38	31	8	8	7	
May 1722	Fountain Tavern, Strand (1723) One Tun, Noble Street, Falcon Square (1728) Red Cross, Barbican (1737)	37	10	8	9	9	8	
25 Nov 1722	St. George and Dragon, Charing Cross (1723) The Lion, Brewers Street, Golden Square (1725) King's Arms, New Bond Street (1730)	38	35	29	10	10	9	
27 Feb 1723	Queen's Head, Knaves Acre, Wardour Street (1723) George and Dragon, Portland Street (1740)	3	2	2	11	11	10	Resurrection of Apple Tree Tavern Lodge.
27 Mar 1723	Ship, Bartholomew Lane (1723) Crown, Bow Lane, Cheapside (1725) Globe Tavern, Moore Gate (1725) Three Tuns, Swithin Alley, Threadneedle Street (1727) Castle, Drury Lane (1733) Crown, Shadwell (1739) Crown, New Crane, Wapping (1739)	39	31	26	12	12	11	
28 Mar 1723	Anchor, Dutchy Lane, Strand (1723) Fountain, in the Strand (1731) Bedford Arms, Covent Garden (1733) Two BlackPosts, Maiden La., Cov. Garden (1736) Sun Theatre, Clare Market Coffee House (1737) Theatre Coffee House, Bridges Street (1738) Bury's Coffee House, Bridges Street (1738) Cock & Lion Tavern, St. Michael's Alley (1740)	40	23	18	13	13	12	
30 Mar 1723	Queen's Head, Great Queen Street (1723)	41	33	28	14	14	13	
1 Apr 1723	Bull's Head, Southwark (1723) Rummer, St. Mary Overys Churchyard (1739)	42	22	17	15	15	14	

[630] Grand Lodge Minutes record that this lodge was re-constituted in March 1729, but it does not appear in any further lists.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
3 Apr 1723	Ben's Coffee House, New Bond Street (1723) Bull's Head, Vere Street (1725) Buffalo, in Bloomsbury (1725) Buffalo and Garter, in Bloomsbury (1729) Crown, St. Giles's (1731) Shakespeare's Head, Covent Garden (1736) Crown, St. Giles's (1739) Shakespeare's Head, Covent Garden (1739)	44	30	25	17	17	16	
3 Apr 1723	Red Lion, Tottenham Court Road (1723) Goat, at the foot of the Haymarket (1730) Bedford Court Coffee House, Bedford Court (1734) Private Room, Red Lion Street, Holborn (1735) Turk's Head, Fleet Street (1736) Cross Keys, corner of St. Martin's Lane (1736) Le Guerre Tavern, St. Martin's Lane (1738) St. Martin's, St. Martin's Lane (1738) Turk's Head, Temple Bar (1738) Bedford Arms, Covent Garden (1739)	43	50	42	16	16	15	
5 May 1723	Ship, behind the Royal Exchange (1723) St. Paul's Head, Ludgate Street (1727) Crown, Ludgate Hill (1729) Sun, Holborn (1736)	45	36	-	18	18	17	Does not appear in 1725 list.
15 May 1723	Griffin, Newgate Street (1723) Green Dragon, Snow Hill (1728) Crown Tavern, Snow Hill (1730) Queen's Arms, Newgate Street (1732) Mourning Bush Tavern, Aldersgate Street (1735)	46	7	6	19	19	18	
c.1723	Rose and Crown, King Street (1723)	-	11	9	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Greyhound, Fleet Street (1723) Globe Tavern, Fleet Street (1725)	-	12	10	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Rummers, Charing Cross (1723)	-	14	11	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Half Moon, The Strand (1723)	-	15	12	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Coffee House, St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell (1723)	-	16	-	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1725.
c.1723	Castle Tavern, Drury Lane (1723)	-	17	-	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1725.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
c.1723	Duke of Bedford's Head, Southern Street (1723)	-	18	13	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Castle Tavern, St. Giles's (1723)	-	19	14	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Cardigan Head, Charing Cross (1723)	-	20	15	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Swan Tavern, Fish Street Hill (1723)	-	21	16	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	The Baptist's Head, Chancery Lane (1723)	-	24	19	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	The Sunn, Clare Market (1723)	-	25	20	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Swan, Ludgate Hill (1723) Three Tuns, Newgate Street (1725)	-	28	23	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Prince of Denmark's Head, Cavendish Street (1723)	-	29	24	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard (1723)	-	32	27	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Crown, St. John's, Wapping (1723)	-	34	-	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1725.
12 Jun 1723	Dolphin, in Tower Street (1723) Swan, Long Acre (1730)	47	37	30	20	20	19	
c.1723	Crown, Acton (1723)	-	39	32	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	The Busie Bodie, Charing Cross (1723) King's Head, Pall Mall (1725)	-	40	33	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Dick's Coffee House, The Strand (1723)	-	41	34	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Ship, without Temple Bar (1723)	-	42	35	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
4 Aug 1723	Nag's Head, Princes Street, Drury Lane (1723) Anchor and Baptist's Head, Chancery Lane (1730)	48	43	36	21	21	20	
11 Sep 1723	Ship, Fish Street Hill (1723) Swan, Fish Street Hill (1731) Bull's Head, Gracechurch Street (1737) Dog Tavern, Billingsgate (1738)	49	44	37	22	22	21	
18 Sep 1723	Half Moon, Cheapside (1723) Sun, South side of S. Paul's Churchyard (1725) Half Moon, Cheapside (1726)	50	26	21	23	23	22	
20 Oct 1723	Crown, near Cripplegate (1723) Bedford's Head, Southampton Street (1729) Crown, without Cripplegate (1730) White Swan & Royal Oak, Whitecross St (1734)	51	13	-	24	24	23	Does not appear in 1725 list.
c.1723	Bell Tavern, Westminster (1723)	-	45	38	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1723	Crown & Anchor, nr St. Clement's Churchyard (1723) Star & Garter, Covent Garden (1725)	-	46	39	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
c.1723	Blew Boar, Fleet Street (1723)	-	47	-	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1725.
24 Dec 1723	Swan, East Street, Greenwich (1725) Mitre, Church Street, Greenwich (1729) King's Head, Greenwich (1730) Punch Bowl & Ladle Street (1733) Lubec Street, Greenwich (1734) White Horse, Wheeler Street, Spitalfields (1736) Greyhound, Lamb Street, Spitalfields (1739)	52	-	55	25	25	24	Does not appear in 1723 list.
25 Mar 1724	The Old Devil at Temple Bar (1724) King's Arms, Strand (1728) White Swan & Royal Oak, Whitecross Street (1733) Brett's Coffee House, Charles Street (1734) Key and Garter, Pall Mall (1734) Dog Tavern, St. James's Market (1739)	53	48	40	26	26	25	
27 Mar 1724	Blue Posts, near Middle Lane, Holborn (1724) Crown and Sceptres, St. Martin's Lane (1725) Forrest's Coffee House, Charing Cross (1735)	54	51	43	27	27	26	
c.1724	Red Lyon, Richmond (1723)	-	52	44	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
1724	Queens Head, Cheap Street, Bath (1724)	55	-	45	28	28	-	Erased 1736.
1724	Nagg's Head, Wine Street, Bristol (1724)	56	-	46	29	29	-	Erased 1736.
1724	Maid's Head, Cook Row, Norwich (1724) Three Tuns Lane, Norwich (1736)	57	-	47	30	30	27	
17 Jul 1724	Swan, East Street, Chichester (1724) Dolphin, West Street, Chichester (1734) White Horse, South Street, Chichester (1738)	58	-	48	31	31	28	
c.1724	Sunn, Chester (1725)	-	-	49	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
1724	Spread Eagle, Castle Street, Chester (1724) Pied Bull, Northgate Street, Chester (1729) Spread Eagle, Castle Lane, Chester (1736) Union Arms, Bridges Street, Chester (1740)	59	-	50	32	32	29	
1724	Castle and Falcon, Watergate Street, Chester (1724) Crown & Mitre, Northgate Street, Chester (1736)	60	-	51	33	33	-	Erased 1739.
c.1724	Mason's Arms, Fulham (1725)	-	-	52	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1724	Legg Tavern, Fleet Street (1725)	-	-	53	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
c.1724	Black Posts, Great Wild Street (1725)	-	-	54	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1724	Queen's Head, Hollis Street (1725)	-	-	56	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1724	Fleece, Fleet Street (1725)	-	-	57	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1724	Crown and Harp, St. Martin's Lane (1725)	-	-	58	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
Jul 1724	Rummer, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden (1725) Cross Keys, Henrietta Street (1727) Three Tuns, Wood Street (1729) Three Kings, Spitalfields (1731) Sash & Cocoa Tree, Upper Moorfields (1732)	64	-	59	37	37	33	
c.1724	Solomon's Temple, Hemming's Row (1725)	-	-	60	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1724	Lebeck's Head, Maiden Lane (1725)	-	-	61	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1724	Red Lyon, Brentford	-	-	62	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
1724	East India Arms, High Street, Gosport (1729) Two Posts, Broad Street, Portsmouth (1736) Vine, Lombard Street, Portsmouth (1738)	62	-	72	35	35	31	
1724	Bay Nags Head & Star, Dark Gate, Carmarthen (1724) Bunch of Grapes, Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire (1733)	61	-	73	34	34	30	
1724	Angel, Moody Street, Congleton, Cheshire (1729) Red Lion, High Street, Congleton, Cheshire (1731)	63	-	-	36	36	32	Does not appear in 1725 list.
22 Jan 1725	Blue Posts, Devereux Ct, without Temple Bar (1725) Swan, Tottenham High Cross, Ware Road (1727) Three Tuns & Bull's Head, Cheapside (1733) Goat, Eagle Court, Strand (1736) Sun, Hooper's Square, Goodman's Fields (1739)	65	-	65	38	38	34	
Apr 1725	Mitre Tavern, Covent Garden (1725) Rummer, Paternoster Row (1728) St. Paul's Head, Ludgate Street (1729) Sun, St. Paul's Churchyard (1737)	67	-	68	40	40	36	
10 May 1725	Hand & Apple Tree, Lit Queen Street, Holborn (1725) King's Arms, Westminster (1728) Vine, High Holborn (1729)	68	-	63	41	41	-	Erased 1737.
25 May 1725	King Henry's Head, Great St. Andrew's Street (1725) Salutation, Billingsgate (1733) Angel and Crown, Whitechapel (1736)	69	-	64	42	42	37	

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
25 May 1725	Freemasons' Coffee House, New Belton Street (1725) Rose, at Marylebone (1728) Cross Keys, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden (1731) King's Arms, Strand (1733)	70	-	67	43	43	38	
c.1725	Mitre, Reading (1725)	-	-	66	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
Sep 1725	Golden Lion, Dean Street, Soho (1725) Swan, Grafton Street, Soho (1728) Swan, Long Acre (1730) Mitre, King Street, Westminster (1740)	71	-	69	44	44	39	
c.1725	Bell Tavern, Nicholas Lane (1725)	-	-	70	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
c.1725	Cock & Bottle, Little Britain	-	-	71	-	-	-	Ceased operating before 1729.
19 Jan 1726	Magpie, without Bishopsgate (1727) White Hart, without Bishopsgate (1730)	73	-	-	45	45	-	No number in 1740, but not erased until 1744.
2 Feb 1726	Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane (1726) Swan, Exchange Alley, Cornhill (1730) Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane (1731) Swan and Rummer, Bartholomew Lane (1739)	66	-	-	39	39	35	
12 Jun 1727	Mount's Coffee House, Grosvenor Street (1727)	74	-	-	46	46	41	
9 Aug 1727	Three Crowns, Stoke Newington (1728) White Lion, Aldersgate Street (1735) Salutation, Newgate Street (1738) Globe, Fleet Street (1738)	75	-	-	47	47	40	
1727	King's Head, Salford (1727)	76	-	74	48	48	42	
31 Jan 1728	Castle & Leg Tavern, Holborn (1728) Bunch of Grapes, Drury Lane (1736) Low's Coffee House, Panton Street, Haymarket (1737) Fisher's Coffee House, New Burlington Gdns (1738) Leicester Coffee Ho., Leicester Fields (1739)	77	-	75	49	49	43	
15 Apr 1728	Green Lettice, Brownlow Street, Holborn (1728)	79	-	76	51	-	-	Lapsed in 1729.
15 Apr 1728	Queen Elizabeth's Head, Pitfield St, Hoxton (1729) Red Lion & Hall, Red Lion Street, Holborn (1733) Star and Garter, St. Martin's Lane (1738) Earl Cardigan, Charing Cross (1739)	80	-	-	57	57	45	
22 Apr 1728	Wool Pack, Market Place, Warwick (1728)	81	-	77	52	52	46	

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
1728	Bishopsgate Coffee House, Bishopsgate Street (1728) Hoop and Griffin, Leadenhall Street (1731) Rose, Cheapside (1739)	82	-	-	53	53	47	
1728	Rose & Crown, Greek Street, Soho (1728) Horse and Dolphin, Maxfield Street (1737) Prince of Wales' s Head, King Street, Soho (1737) Royal Oak, Great Earl Street, Seven Dials (1738)	83	-	-	54	54	48	
1728	Red Lion, Red Lion Street, Richmond (1728) Duke of Lorrain, Suffolk Street (1733) Rummer, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden (1734) Fountain, Fleet Street (1736) Old Man's Coffee House, Charing Cross (1738)	84	-	-	55	55	49	
1728	Crown & Anchor, Short's Gardens, Drury Lane (1728) Crown & Anchor, King Street, Seven Dials (1737)	85	-	-	56	56	50	
Nov 1728	The Rock, Gibraltar (1728)	86	-	-	51	51	51	Minute Book records warrant as granted in March 1729.
19 Mar 1729	French Arms, Madrid, Spain (1728)	78	-	-	50	50	44	Minute Book records warrant as granted in April 1728.
27 Mar 1729	Tunbridge Wells (1729)	-	-	-	-	-	-	Warrant recorded in minute book, but lodge does not appear in any lists.
8 Aug 1729	Crown, Corn Market, Oxford (1729)	89	-	-	58	58	-	Erased 1736.
27 Aug 1729	Three Tuns, Globe St, Scarborough, Yorkshire (1729) Vipont's Long Room, Sandside, Scarborough (1738) Three Tuns, Globe Street, Scarborough (1740)	90	-	-	59	59	52	
1 Oct 1729	Duke's Head, Tuesday Market Plc, Lynn Regis (1729) White Lion, Grass Market, Lynn Regis, Norfolk (1735)	91	-	-	70	70	53	
22 Jan 1730[631]	Three Tuns, Billingsgate (1729) St. George & Dragon, St. Mary Axe (1737)	87	-	-	60	60	54	
16 Jan 1730	The George, Northampton	92	-	-	62	62	64	
24 Jan 1730	King's Arms, Cateaton Street (1729) Fountain, Snow Hill (1736)	88	-	-	61	61	55	

[631] The Engraved List of 1735 gives this as 1729, but from its place in the list, this would seem to be an error.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
26 Jan 1730	Bricklayers' Arms, Barbican (1730) The Rose, Cheapside (1732) Boar's Head, West Smithfield (1738) Globe and Sceptres, Old Jewry (1739)	93	-	-	71	71	65	
26 Feb 1730	Bear and Harrow, Butcher Row, Temple Bar (1730) Bacchus & Grapes, Gravel St, Hatton Garden (1736) Masons' Arms, Maddox Street, Hanover Square (1739)	94	-	-	63	63	56	
6 Mar 1730	Prince William, Charing Cross (1730) Rose Tavern, without Temple Bar (1732)	95	-	-	64	64	-	Erased 1736.
1730[632]	St Rooke's Hill, North of Chichester (1730)	96	-	-	65	65	57	
3 Apr 1730	Red Lion, High Street, Canterbury, Kent (1730)	97	-	-	66	66	58	
16 Apr 1730	Dick's Coffee House, Gravel St, Hatton Garden (1730) Castle, St. Giles's (1733) Castle, St. Giles's (1738)	98	-	-	67	67	59	
28 Apr 1730	Golden Spikes, Bridges Street, Hampstead (1730) Vine, Long Acre (1733)	99	-	-	68	68	60	
22 May 1730	King Henry VIIth's Head, Fleet Street (1730) Sarazons, near Seven Dials (1733) Bacchus, Bloomsbury Market (1733)	100	-	-	69	69	61	
1730	East India Arms, Calcutta, Bengal, India (1730)	103	-	-	72	72	66	Grand Lodge minutes record warrant being issued 27 Dec 1728.
17 Jul 1730	Rainbow Coffee House, York Buildings (1730) Gun, Suffolk Street (1739)	101	-	-	75	75	62	
7 Sep 1730	Saracen's Head, High Street, Lincoln (1730)	102	-	-	73	73	63	
14 Dec 1730	Bear and Harrow, Butcher Row, Temple Bar (1730)	105	-	-	74	74	-	Erased 1736.
1730	White Bear, King Street, Golden Square (1730) Queen's Head, Old Bailey (1735)	104	-	-	76	76	67	
11 Jan 1731	Black Lion, Jockey Fields, Grays Inn (1731)	106	-	-	77	77	74	
1731	Fountain, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk (1731)	107	-	-	78	78	-	Erased 1739.
27 Jun 1731	The Castle, High Street, Highgate (1731)	108	-	-	79	-	-	Incorporated into Lodge No. 4 in 1733.
1731	Angel, Barn Street, Macclesfield, Cheshire (1731)	109	-	-	80	80	69	

[632] The Engraved List of 1735 gives this as "In the Reign of Julius Caesar".

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
22 Oct 1731	Crown, Prujean Court, Old Bailey (1731) Three Tuns, Newgate Street (1731)	110	-	-	82	82	70	
1 Nov 1731	Golden Fleece, Churchgate St, Bury St Edmund (1731)	111	-	-	81	81	71	
17 Dec 1731	Three Tuns, West Smithfield (1731)	112	-	-	83	83	72	
23 Dec 1731	Daniel's Coffee House, Lombard Street(1731) Freeman's Coffee House, Cheapside (1733) Sun, behind the Royal Exchange (1734) Old Antwerp Tavern, Exchange (1736)	113	-	-	84	84	73	
24 Jan 1732	King's Arms, Russell Street, Covent Garden (1732) The Fountain, Borough of Southwark (1736)	114	-	-	85	85	-	Erased 1738.
2 Feb 1732	King's Arms, St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark (1732)	115	-	-	86	86	75	
22 Feb 1732[633]	New King's Arms, Market Place, Leigh, Lancs (1732)	116	-	-	87	87	76	
28 Mar 1732	Bell and Raven, Rotten Row, Wolverhampton (1732)	117	-	-	88	88	77	
3 Apr 1732	King's Head, in the Butcher Row, Paris, France (1732) Au Louis D' Argent, Paris, France (1734) L'Hotel de Bussy, Rue de Bussy, Paris, France (1736) La Ville de Tonnerre, Rue des Boucheries, Paris,(1738)	118	-	-	90	90	78	
11 Apr 1732	Black Boy & Sugar Loaf, Stanhope Street (1732) Rummer and Horse Shoe, Drury Lane (1733) Dog, at Richmond (1739) King's Head, St. Paul's Churchyard (1740)	119	-	-	89	89	79	
12 Apr 1732	Sun, Fleet Street (1732) Feathers, Chandois Street (1739) Three Tuns, Grosvenor Street (1740)	120	-	-	91	91	80	
25 May 1732	King's Arms, Ludgate Hill (1732) Antwerp Tavern, Threadneedle Street (1733) The Star, Coleman Street (1736) King's Head Tavern, Tower Street (1737) Queen's Arms, Newgate Street (1739)	121	-	-	92	92	81	

[633] The Engraved List of 1735 gives this as 1731, but from its place in the list, this would seem to be an error.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
21 Jun 1732	The Crown, Walbrook (1732) Goose & Gridiron, St. Paul's Churchyard (1733) King and Queen, Rosemary Lane (1735) New Magpie, without Bishopsgate (1739)	122	-	-	93	93	82	
29 Jun 1732	Oxford Arms, Ludgate Street (1732) Sun, Ludgate Street (1740)	123	-	-	94	94	83	
11 Jul 1732	New Inn, High Street, Exeter, Devonshire (1732)	124	-	-	97	97	86	
12 Jul 1732	Horn and Feathers, Wood Street (1732) King's Arms, Dorset Street, Spitalfields (1735)	125	-	-	95	95	84	
1732	White Horse, Tavern Street, Ipswich (1732)	126	-	-	96	96	85	
17 Aug 1732	Prince Eugene's Coffee House, St. Alban's St (1732) Duke of Lorraine, Suffolk Street (1733) King's Arms, Piccadilly (1736) Union Coffee House, Upper End of Haymarket (1739)	127	-	-	98	98	87	
18 Aug 1732	Rummer, Charing Cross (1732) Leg, Fleet Street (1733) Hoop and Griffin, Leadenhall Street (1737)	128	-	-	99	99	88	
19 Aug 1732	George & Dragon, Butcher Row, Temple Bar (1732)	129	-	-	100	100	-	Erased 1736.
29 Aug 1732	Crown, Upper Moorfields (1732) Rummer, Old Fish Street Hill (1740)	130	-	-	101	101	89	
5 Sep 1732	Royal Vineyard, St James Park (1732)	131	-	-	102	102	90	
8 Sep 1732	Ship, without Temple Bar (1732) Royal Standard, Leicester Fields (1737)	132	-	-	103	103	91	
14 Sep 1732	Virgin's Inn, Market Place, Derby (1732)	133	-	-	104	104	92	
9 Nov 1732	Private Room, Bolton, Lancashire (1732)	134	-	-	105	105	93	
15 Nov 1732	Nag's Head, South Audley Street (1732) Clothworkers' Arms, Upper Moorfields (1735) Salmon & Bell, Wheeler Street, Spitalfields (1738) Crown Coffee House, Wheeler St, Spitalfields (1739)	135	-	-	106	106	94	
12 Dec 1732	Dale's Coffee House, Warwick Street (1732) Turk's Head, Greek Street, Soho (1736)	136	-	-	107	107	95	
15 Dec 1732	Seven Stars, Long Brackland, Bury St Edmunds (1732)	137	-	-	108	108	96	

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
27 Dec 1732	Three Lions, Salisbury, Wiltshire (1732) Old Mitre, Salisbury, Wiltshire (1735) Ram (or Lamb), Katherine Street, Salisbury(1738)	138	-	-	109	109	97	
2 Feb 1733	Crown and Mitre, Labour-in-Vain Hill (1733) Rummer and Mitre, Labour-in-Vain Hill (1733) Ship Coffee House, near the Hermitage Bridge (1733)	139	-	-	110	110	98	
17 Feb 1733	Theatre Tavern, Goodman's Fields (1733) Golden Fleece, Goodman's Fields (1739)	140	-	-	111	111	99	
3 Mar 1733	Old Kings Arms, Tower Street, Seven Dials (1733)	141	-	-	112	112	100	
18 Mar 1733	White Bear, Stall Street, Bath	142	-	-	113	113	101	
23 Mar 1733	Ship, St. Mary Axe (1733) Sun, Winchester Street, Little Moorgate (1734) Royal Oak, Strand (1735) Bear, in the Strand (1736) Globe, Bridges Street, Covent Garden (1736) Fountain, Catherine Street, Strand (1737)	143	-	-	114	114	102	
1733	Devil Tavern, Temple Bar (1733) Daniel's Coffee House, Temple Bar (1736)	144	-	-	115	115	-	Erased 1736.
1733	Bear & Harrow, Butcher Row (1733)	145	-	-	116	116	-	Erased 1736.
1733	King's Arms, The Strand (1734)	146	-	-	117	117	-	Lapsed by 1735.
26 Jul 1733	Red Lion, Fleet Street, Bury, Lancashire (1733)	147	-	-	118	118	103	
1 Aug 1733	Talbot, High Street, Stourbridge, Worcestershire (1733)	149	-	-	119	119	104	
1733	Oate's Coffee House, Great Wild Street (1733)	151	-	-	120	120	-	
27 Dec 1733	Solomon's Coffee House, Pimlico (1733) Swan, Strand (1735) White Horse, Piccadilly (1737) Crown, Fleet Market, Ludgate Hill (1738) Crown, Ludgate Hill (1740)	152	-	-	121	121	105	
1733	Forrest's Coffee House, Charing Cross (1733)	153	-	-	122	122	106	
1733	Prince of Oranges Head, Milk St, Southwark (1733) Castle Inn, Market Place, Kingston-on-Thames (1736) King's Arms, Great Wild Street (1738) Fountain, Snow Hill (1739)	154	-	-	123	123	107	

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
1733	Hamburg, Lower Saxony, Germany (1733)	155	-	-	124	124	-	Lapsed by 1740.
30 Jul 1733	Bunch of Grape, State St, Boston, America (1733) Royal Exchange Tavern, Boston, America (1735) Bro. Andrew Halliburton's, Boston, America (1738)	148	-	-	126	126	110	
1 Aug 1733	Swan, Great Brook Street, Birmingham (1733)	150	-	-	125	125	109	
1733	Valenciennes, Nord, Flandre, France (1733)	156	-	-	127	127	111	
5 Nov 1734	Duke of Marlborough's Head, Whitechapel (1734)	157	-	-	128	128	112	
1735	Two Angels & Crown, Little St. Martins Lane (1735) Camerons Coffee House, Bury St, St. James's (1739)	171	-	-	79	79	68	
26 Jan 1735	Mason's Arms, Pembroke Street, Plymouth (1735)	158	-	-	129	129	113	
17 Apr 1735	Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal	159	-	-	135	-	120	
11 Jun 1735	The Mitre, Mint Street, Southwark (1735) Bell, Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street (1738)	160	-	-	130	130	114	
1735	The Hague, Holland (1735)	163	-	-	131	131	116	
24 Jun 1735	Winlaton, Durham (1725) Two Fencers, Swalwell, Durham (1735)	161	-	-	132	132	117	Originally an operative lodge. Minutes date from 1725.
25 Jun 1735	Shakespeare's Head, Covent Garden (1735)	162	-	-	117[634]	-	115	Lapsed in 1735.
12 Aug 1735	The Castle, Aubigny (Cher Berry), France (1735)	164	-	-	133	133	118	
26 Aug 1735	Sun, Old Round Court, Strand (1735) White Bear, Strand (1738)	165	-	-	134	134	119	
1735	Lord Weymouth's Arms, Warminster, Wiltshire	166	-	-	136	-	121	
30 Oct 1735	Blue Anchor, Cock Lane, Snow Hill (1735) Queen Elizabeth's Head, Hicks Hall, St John St (1739)	167	-	-	138	-	122	
12 Nov 1735	Rummer, High Street, Bristol	168	-	-	137	-	123	
1735	Charles Town, South Carolina, USA	169	-	-	-	-	-	Does not appear on any lists until 1755. Possible that Lane's 1735 date is an error.
1735	Savannah, Georgia, USA	170	-	-	139	-	124	
1 Mar 1736	Ashley's London Punch House, Ludgate Hill (1736)	172	-	-	140	-	125	
1736	Three Cups Hotel, High Street, Colchester (1736)	174	-	-	141	-	126	
8 Mar 1736	Fountain, Pipwell-Gate, Gateshead, Durham (1736)	173	-	-	143	-	127	

[634] This number is given by Lane, but appears to be incorrect as another lodge appears at this place in the 1729 Engraved List.

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
16 Apr 1736	Fountain, The Mount, Shrewsbury, Salop (1736)	175	-	-	142	-	128	
11 Jun 1736	Greyhound, Lamb Street, Spitalfields (1736)	176	-	-	144	-	129	
1736	Three Crowns, Weymouth & Melcombe Regis (1736)	177	-	-	145	-	130	
24 Jun 1736	King's Head, Market Place, Norwich (1736)	178	-	-	146	-	131	
25 Jun 1736	St George & Dragon, Tithe Barn St, Liverpool (1736)	179	-	-	147	-	132	
16 Aug 1736	Sun, Fish Street Hill (1736) Bell, Nicholas Lane (1740)	180	-	-	148	-	133	
20 Sep 1736	King's Arms, Edgbaston Street, Birmingham (1736) St George & Dragon, Digbeth St, Birmingham (1739)	181	-	-	149	-	134	
2 Dec 1736	Yorkshire Grey, Beer Lane, Thames St (1736) King's Arms, Lombard Street (1739)	182	-	-	150	-	135	
21 Dec 1736	Black Dog, Castle Street, Seven Dials (1736)	183	-	-	151	-	136	
31 Dec 1736	Blossoms Inn, Lawrence Lane, Cheapside (1736)	184	-	-	152	-	137	
24 Jan 1737	City of Durham, Swallow Street (1737)	185	-	-	153	-	138	
14 Feb 1737	Crown, West Smithfield (1737)	186	-	-	154	-	139	
22 Feb 1737	King's Arms, Cateaton Street (1737)	187	-	-	155	-	140	
17 Mar 1737	Horn, High Street, Braintree, Essex (1737)	188	-	-	156	-	141	
22 Mar 1737	Three Tuns, Wood Street	189	-	-	157	-	142	
30 Mar 1737	Westminster Hall Tavern, Dunnings Alley (1737)	190	-	-	158	-	143	
18 Apr 1737	Whitechapel Court House, Whitechapel (1737) Three Tuns, Spitalfields (1739)	191	-	-	159	-	144	
20 Apr 1737	Three Tuns & Half Moon, Snow Hill (1737)	192	-	-	160	-	145	
10 May 1737	King James 1st Head, Old Jewry (1737)	193	-	-	161	-	146	
24 Aug 1737	Gun Tavern, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly (1737)	194	-	-	162	-	147	
21 Sep 1737	Swan, New Street, Covent Garden (1737) Two Black Pots, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden (1738)	195	-	-	163	-	148	
8 Dec 1737	King's Head, St John's Street (1737) Sun, Aldersgate Street (1740)	196	-	-	164	-	149	
12 Dec 1737	Angel Inn, Market Place, Shepton Mallet (1737)	197	-	-	165	-	150	
23 Dec 1737	Angel above Hill, Lincoln (1737)	198	-	-	166	-	151	
16 Jan 1738	Swan & Falcon, Hereford (1738)	199	-	-	167	-	152	
27 Jan 1738	Fountain, Bartholomew Lane, Royal Exchange (1738)	200	-	-	168	-	153	
31 Jan 1738	Parham, Antigua, West Indies	201	-	-	-	-	154	

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
17 Feb 1738	Bacchus, Little Bush Lane, Cannon St (1738) Mansion House, Steel Yard, Thames Street (1739)	202	-	-	169	-	155	
27 Mar 1738	Lord Talbot's Head, Cannon Row, Westminster (1738) Katherine Wheel, Great Windmill Street (1738) St Luke's Head, Phoenix Alley, Long Acre (1739) Red Lion, Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell (1739)	203	-	-	170	-	156	
28 Mar 1738	Wheatsheaf, Eastgate Street, Gloucester (1738)	204	-	-	171	-	157	
3 May 1738	Three Tuns, Jewry Street, Aldgate (1766)	205	-	-	-	-	-	Does not appear in any lists until 1766, but 1738 date appears to be accurate.
3 May 1738	Angel & Crown, Crispin Street, Spitalfields (1738)	206	-	-	172	-	158	
16 May 1738	Gordon's Punch House, New Exchange, Strand (1738) Duke of Gloucester, Pall Mall (1739)	207	-	-	173	-	159	
19 Jun 1738	Bell & Dragon, King Street, St James Square (1738) Bell & Dragon, King Street, Golden Square (1739)	208	-	-	174	-	160	
10 Jul 1738	Swan, Fish Street Hill (1738)	209	-	-	175	-	161	
12 Jul 1738	Black Bull, Copper Street, Halifax, Yorkshire (1738)	210	-	-	176	-	162	
26 Oct 1738	Swan, High Street, Tewkesbury, Gloucester (1738)	211	-	-	177	-	163	
22 Nov 1738	St John, Antigua, West Indies (1738)	212	-	-	-	-	164	
1738	Cameron's Coffee House, Bury St, St James (1738)	213	-	-	178	-	-	Lapsed 1738.
9 Jan 1739	Golden Lion, Salford (1739)	214	-	-	-	-	165	Lodge did not confirm constitution with Grand Lodge until 1744, hence no appearance in 1740 lists.
19 Jan 1739	Flowerpot, Bishopsgate Street (1739)	215	-	-	178	-	165	
27 Jan 1739	Chequers, Chequer Court, Charing Cross (1739) Crown & Anchor, King Street, Seven Dials (1740)	216	-	-	179	-	166	
1 Feb 1739	Horse & Groom, Foregate Street, Chester (1739)	217	-	-	180	-	167	
10 Feb 1739	Red Rampant Lion, High St, St Albans, Herts (1739) Woolpack Road, St Albans (1740)	218	-	-	181	-	168	
13 Mar 1739	King's Head, Market Place, Romford, Essex (1739)	219	-	-	182	-	169	
14 Mar 1739	St Mary's Street, St John, Antigua, West Indies (1739)	220	-	-	-	-	170	
20 Mar 1739	White Horse, Bloomsbury Market (1739) Horse Shoe & Magpie, Fleet Street (1739)	221	-	-	183	-	171	
24 Apr 1739	King's Head, Butcher's Row, Portsea, Hants (1739)	222	-	-	184	-	172	
28 Apr 1739	British Coffee House, Cockspur St, Charing X (1739)	223	-	-	185	-	173	

Warrant	Meeting Places	L	1723	1725	1729	1735	1740	Notes
21 Jun 1739	Basseterre, St Christopher, West Indies (1739)	224	-	-	-	-	174	
22 Jun 1739	Black Bull, New Road, Spalding, Lincolnshire (1739)	225	-	-	186	-	175	
29 Aug 1739	Red Bull, Charles Court, Strand (1739)	226	-	-	187	-	176	
8 Oct 1739	Axe & Gate, King Street, Westminster (1739)	227	-	-	188	-	177	
25 Oct 1739	May Fair (1739)	228	-	-	189	-	178	
7 Dec 1739	Wheatsheaf, Gallowtree Gate, Leicester (1739)	229	-	-	-	-	179	
16 Jan 1740	Spread Eagle, Gracechurch St (1740)	230	-	-	-	-	180	
2 Feb 1740	Private Room, Lausanne, Switzerland (1740)	231	-	-	-	-	187	
12 Mar 1740	Bridgetown, Barbados, West Indies (1740)	232	-	-	-	-	186	
31 Mar 1740	White Lion, High Street, Banbury, Oxon (1740)	233	-	-	-	-	181	
14 Apr 1740[635]	Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies (1739)	234	-	-	-	-	182	
16 Apr 1740	Calcutta, Bengal, India (1740)	235	-	-	-	-	185	
26 Jun 1740	White Swan, Little Andrews St, Seven Dials (1740)	236	-	-	-	-	183	
10 Jul 1740	Red Lion, Tower Street, Bristol (1740)	237	-	-	-	-	184	
23 Oct 1740	Hamburg, Lower Saxony, Germany (1740)	238	-	-	-	-	108	Possibly a continuation of lodge no. 124 from 1729 list.
4 Nov 1740	Lebeck's Head, Catherine Street, Strand (1740)	239	-	-	-	-	185	

[635] Lane gives the date as 1739, but from its place in the list, this would seem to be an error.

Appendix 3: The Nomenclature of Masonic Catechisms and Exposures.

The nomenclature of masonic documents has become somewhat complex. Through the work of Knoop and Jones, something approaching a standardised nomenclature was achieved during the 1940s. However, there are two difficulties with the nomenclature devised by them: the first is simply the discovery of more documents since their system was created. The second is the fact that their nomenclature system follows no logical standard: some documents are named after the individuals believed to have written them (i.e. the Graham MS); others after the place of their discovery (i.e. Edinburgh Register House MS); others after the individual who discovered them (i.e. Chetwode Crawley); others by their location at the time of Knoop and Jones' work (i.e. Trinity House, Dublin MS); others by the first line, or title on the document itself (i.e. The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd); and some with apparently no reason whatsoever (i.e. A Mason's Examination). There is some additional confusion in that some of the documents under the Knoop and Jones system have very similar names (for instance, compare The Whole Institution of Masonry, to The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons), while others have more than one name.

In order to try to restore some clarity, I have adopted an alternative nomenclature which, while drawing considerably on that used by Knoop and Jones, simplifies the system considerably. This system splits the documents into two groups: manuscript documents and printed documents. The manuscripts maintain the Knoop and Jones nomenclature, as this has become generally accepted and recognised as the standard. The printed documents are themselves split into two sections: those which appeared in newspapers, and those which were individually printed. The former are given a name based on the newspaper in which they were printed; the latter the names under which they were printed.

One further note should be made on the dating of a number of the documents. While some documents have specific dates mentioned within the document, others do not. Those which are not dated specifically within the document should be taken as a liberal approximation based on largely accepted dates (except where stated), rather than a definitive date.

This appendix will give basic details concerning the various catechisms and exposures of freemasonic ritual.

Register House
Knoop & Jones name: Edinburgh Register House MS.
Provenance: 1696, Edinburgh, Scotland.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism; initiatory rituals.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

Chetwode Crawley
Knoop & Jones name: The Chetwode Crawley MS.
Provenance: c.1700, Scotland.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism; initiatory rituals.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

This document is almost certainly taken from the same original source as Register House, the two being near enough identical in content and detail, barring a few differences which would appear to be copyist errors.

Sloane
Knoop & Jones name: Sloane MS 3329.
Provenance: c.1700, England.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Narrative of signs; recognitory catechism; oath.
Source used: London, British Library, Sloane MS 3329.

Haughfoot Fragment
Knoop & Jones name: Haughfoot Lodge Fragment.
Provenance: 1702, Haughfoot, Scotland.
Fragment of MS Catechism.
Contents: Fragment of initiatory ritual.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

This document contains the last few lines of an initiatory ritual which appear at the top of a page of the minute book of Haughfoot Lodge. The immediately preceding pages, which presumably contained the rest of the details of the ritual, have been ripped out.

Airlie MS
Provenance: 1705, Airlie, Scotland.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism; initiatory rituals.
Source used: National Archives of Scotland, GD16/58/52.

This document was discovered in the early years of the twenty-first century. It is near enough identical to the Register House MS and the Chetwode Crawley MS, barring a few differences in spelling, and as such is almost certainly drawn from the same original source. It is unusual in that the document appears to have been written for use by the family of the Earl of Airlie, rather than for use at a specific lodge.

Royal Society MS
Provenance: 1708, London, England.
MS Catechism
Contents: Narrative of signs; recognitory catechism; oath.
Source used: document not seen directly, information provided by Matthew Scanlan.

This document was discovered by Matthew Scanlan in 2001, who has very kindly provided me with some details. As it is a direct copy of an earlier MS, made for a non-masonic purpose, its relevance to this thesis is limited. It is included here only for completeness.

Dumfries MS
Knoop & Jones name: Dumfries No. 4 MS
Provenance: c.1710, Dumfries, Scotland
MS Catechism.
Contents: Lengthy recognitory catechism, including section on Solomon's Temple.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

Trinity MS
Knoop & Jones name: Trinity College, Dublin MS.
Provenance: c.1711, Dublin, Ireland.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Short recognitory catechism.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

Kevan MS
Knoop & Jones name: Kevan MS
Provenance: c.1715, Scotland.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism; initiatory rituals.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms* (2nd edition, 1963).

This document is identical to Chetwode Crawley barring a few differences in spelling.

Flying Post Exposure
Knoop & Jones name: A Mason's Examination.
Provenance: 1723, London, England.
Newspaper Exposure.
Contents: Recognitory catechism; signs of recognition.
Source used: *The Flying Post* (11-13 April 1723), issue 4712.

Post Boy Exposure
Provenance: 1723, London, England.
Newspaper Exposure.
Contents: Sham exposure of recognitory catechism.
Source used: *The Post Boy* (26-28 December 1723), issue 5373.

Although this appears to be an exposure of freemasonic ritual, as first highlighted by S. Brent Morris, the questions and answers, while seemingly realistic, do not match with any other known recognitory ritual, and it therefore would appear to be a "sham" exposure, presumably created by a freemason in order to confuse readers in the wake of the Flying Post Exposure earlier the same year.

Grand Mystery
Knoop & Jones Name: The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd.
Provenance: 1724, London, England.
Printed Exposure.
Contents: Recognitory catechism, oath, toast, and signs.
Source used: *The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discover'd*, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, A 795 GRA fol.

Whole Institution
Knoop & Jones Name: The Whole Institution of Masonry.
Provenance: 1724, Bristol, England.
Printed exposure.
Contents: Recognitory catechism.
Source used: *The Whole Institution of Masonry*, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, BE 206 DIA.

Institution of Free Masons
Knoop & Jones Name: Institution of Free Masons.
Provenance: c.1725, England.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

Whole Institutions Opened
Knoop & Jones Name: The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened.
Provenance: 1725, Dublin, Ireland
Printed Exposure.
Contents: Recognitory catechism, oath, toast, signs of recognition.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

Graham MS
Knoop & Jones Name: The Graham MS
Provenance: 1726, England. Possibly York.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Long recognitory catechism, mythical history.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

This document is thought to have been written by Thomas Graham.

Mystery Laid Open
Knoop & Jones Name: The Grand Mystery Laid Open.
Provenance: 1726, place unknown, but probably English.
Printed exposure.
Contents: Recognitory catechism.
Source used: *The Grand Mystery Laid Open*, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, A 795 GRA fol.

Wilkinson MS
Knoop & Jones Name: Wilkinson MS.
Provenance: c.1728, England.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism.
Source used: Knoop, Jones, and Hamer, *The Wilkinson Manuscript* (Private Circulation, 1946).

Daily Journal Exposure
Knoop & Jones Name: The Mystery of Free-Masonry.
Also known as: The Grand Whimsy of Free-Masonry.
Provenance: 1730, London, England.
Newspaper Exposure.
Contents: Recognitory catechism.
Source used: *The Daily Journal* (15 August 1730), issue 2998.

Masonry Dissected
Knoop & Jones Name: Masonry Dissected.
Written by: Samuel Prichard.
Provenance: 1730, London, England.
Printed Exposure.
Contents: Detailed recognitory catechisms.
Source used: Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected* (London, 1730).

Dialogue
Knoop & Jones Name: A Dialogue Between Simon and Philip.
Provenance: c.1732, Bristol, England.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism, explanatory notes, drawings of lodge layouts.
Source used: *A Dialogue Between Simon, a Town Mason and Philip a Travelling Mason*, Library and Museum of Freemasonry, BE 206 DIA.

Knoop, Jones and Hamer, *Early Masonic Catechisms* (1943), originally dated this document to 1740. However, this was changed in the second edition of the work (1963) to 1725. Alain Bauer, *Isaac Newton's Freemasonry* (Rochester, Vermont, 2003) argues for 1730 based on what he sees as an implication in the Grand Lodge minutes of a change in ritual at that point. While Bauer's work lacks the rigour of an academic approach to his subject, his dating of this document is perhaps more accurate than either of the other suggested dates. The nature of the wording and of the details of the catechism would certainly seem to imply that it has drawn either from Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, or, more likely from the same traditions which informed Prichard's work. It therefore seems improbable that this document dates from any time prior to 1730, and a date of somewhere between 1730 and 1735 seems far more appropriate.

Masonry Farther Dissected
Provenance: 1738, London, England.
Printed Exposure
Contents: Initiatory ritual.
Source used: Anon, *Masonry Farther Dissected* (London, 1738).

This work was originally written in French, and details an initiatory ritual from a lodge in Paris. The English translation includes thorough footnotes comparing the French ritual described with the editor's view of English ritual, although it would seem that the editor had a less than perfect understanding of English masonic ritual.

Chesham MS
Knoop & Jones Name: Chesham MS.
Provenance: c.1740, England.
MS Catechism.
Contents: Recognitory catechism.
Source used: Knoop, *Catechisms*.

The first half of this document is an exact copy of the start of the Daily Journal Exposure, while the second half is copied directly from Masonry Dissected. As such it provides nothing of significant historical value, and is included here purely for completeness.

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